Daily Report

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Arbnori, U.S. Official Discuss Assistance Project

AU0912170592 Tirana ATA in English 1140 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] Tirana, December 9 (ATA)—The Chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly Arbnori met on December 8 with the representative of the Library of the U.S. Congress, Sergiu Verona. The latter informed Mr. Arbnori of a programme the U.S. Congress is realizing through [words indistinct] force in the parliaments of the East European countries which overthrew the Slav- communist dictatorship.

This programme, which envisages aid for professional and juridical qualification of the deputies and the staff, aid to provide the necessary equipments facilitating the work and publication of the laws, also includes Albania. Its is necessary that the world also propagates and recognizes your laws, something which would create a more exact image of the development of the democratic processes in Albania and attract foreign investors. Mr. Arbnori thanked the friend from America for the interest and readiness to follow closely Albania's problems and efforts to create a genuine rule of law.

U.S. Efforts To Prevent Conflict in Kosovo Viewed

AU1012144092 Tirana ATA in English 1116 GMT 10 Dec 92

[ATA report: "U.S.A. and Allies Are Studying New Steps in Kosovo"]

[Text] Tirana, December 10 (ATA)—In its yesterday's issue RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE writes: U.S.A. and some of their allies are studying new steps to prevent extension of Yugoslav conflict to the region of Kosovo, a NATO senior official who did not want to be identified said on Monday [7 December] to a small group of reporters.

I have clear proofs that the United States are very seriously examining actions to prevent the outbreak of conflict in Kosovo, the official said but did not want to comment on what these measures include. He added: We are waiting for a signal to show that we seriously consider the question of Kosovo.

The increasing danger of an outbreak of a wide-scale war in the Balkans will be discussed when the NATO ministers of defence meet by the end of this week and when the foreign ministers of the alliance meet next week, he said.

Lord Owen of Britain, distinguished in his efforts to establish peace in former-Yugoslavia, visited NATO on Friday and warned that the war might soon extend to the Balkans. NATO's sources said that Owen separated Kosovo as the next probable focus of the conflict.

The official said: The question of Kosovo will be discussed with the President of Albania Sali Berisha when he visits NATO on December 16.

Eight Miners Arrested; 320 Threaten Hunger Strike

AU1012203692 Paris AFP in English 1910 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] Tirana, Dec 10 (AFP)—Eight miners were arrested Thursday [10 December] and 320 threatened to go on hunger strike in what was seen here as a strong challenge to Albania's first post-communist government.

Radio Tirana said the arrested included the local head of the Miners' Union, Hider Boci, and the leader of the strike committee, Iljaz Bardhi. The two men had led some 2,000 chrome miners on strike in Bulqize, 120 km north of Tirana, since October 24.

The miners are demanding higher wages and better living conditions.

As news of the arrests spread, 320 miners said they would launch a hunger strike and another 50 protested in front of a court in the nearby town of Peshkopi.

The government of President Sali Berisha, who was elected in March, has declared the strike illegal.

The deputy minister of heavy industry, Franko Kraci, told AFP Thursday that the strike was costing the state 300,000 dollars a month.

Former Political Prisoners Protest, Need Shelter

AU1012192992 Tirana PASQYRA in Albanian No. 50 Nov 92 p 1

[Article by Artan Kristo: "Former Political Prisoners Conquer '8 November'"]

[Text] This happened one evening several days ago. A group of former political prisoners and victims of persecution attacked and forcibly entered the former 8 November Publishing House, which is the Publishing House of Encyclopedic Book today. They had no intention of looting or destruction. They only wanted to find shelter in a part of the offices of this publishing house, which are presently empty. They clashed with the policemen who tried to evict them by force. Several of the victims of persecution even say that the policemen dragged a pregnant woman along the sidewalk, something that was denied by the policemen present.

According to Edmond Naumi, one of the political persecutees who participated in this event, such "attacks" happened that night in the Institute of Technical Studies and in another building near the Institute of Pedagogical Studies. The occupation of this dwelling space is not done spontaneously, but in an organized way. The association presidency has considered the abundant places in these institutions and on such a basis has compiled regular lists for those who will occupy them. They do everything because they are in trouble, Edmond says. Winter is coming. We have no shelter. We are not few

but number 200 persons who have suffered in the prisons of the communist dictatorship, and we are suffering even now....

He cannot speak anymore. Others interrupt him, without leaving each other a turn. They are very enraged.

"The man with the mustache has manliness, but it Mr. Meksi who does not. When we entered our first hunger strike on 28 September 1991, he himself considered our demands to be fair. We have not profited at all, except for scholarships. That means only good words and... nothing being done."

Someone else says, "there is an abundance oft space, but it is given to foreigners and businessmen to gain dollars.

"The same is happening here. Two or more stories are empty. We know many cases when the state rooms are let for rent, and this money is needed to pay the salaries of communist officials. How long it will continue like this?"

"There are communist-democrat officials who do not want even to see us political prisoners," says another. "However, we should not forget one thing: We who raised them to power. We again will turn them down if they do not keep their promises. Nobody can mock us who has seen death with his own eyes in Enver Hoxha's prisons!"

As seen, the situation was very aggravated that night. The next morning the situation was the same, even more tense. Many of them said determinedly that they will enter a hunger strike. Of course, the road to be followed is neither this nor the occupation by force of state buildings, but former prisoners have their own rights. Winter is coming. It is the second winter in which they are passing the time in the open air....

Italian Police Arrest Kosovar Drug Smuggler

AU1012215692 Tirana 24 ORE in Albanian No. 54 Nov 92

[Report: "Albania—A Transit for Drugs"]

[Text] The press has time and again called upon the public to sensitize them to the drug issue by making statements that have always been at variance with official versions of the situation. However, facts are awkward and official comments and statements on Albania's supposed naivete concerning this problem are forced to retreat in the face of reality.

Thus, we were informed that, during an inspection in Trieste of the ferry coming from Durres a few days ago, the Italian police caught red-handed a Kosovar traveling on a regular Albanian passport carrying drugs.

Initial information suggests that the drugs came from Turkey and were destined for the West by passing unhindered through Albania. The facts speak for themselves and there is no need for comment. However, at the same time, we are worried as to how the Kosovar was issued a regular Albanian passport, something which supports the hypothesis and the opinion that the ring and those involved are active and have a functioning network of connections.

Be careful! The drug smugglers have chosen poor and needy Albania for everything (and not least for drugs) as an easy transit route for the white powder that deals death and mourning.

Further on Rejection of Boyadzhiev as Premier

BSP Takes Responsibility

AU1012205692 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] On 10 December Nikolay Kamov, spokesman for the parliamentary faction of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] and coalition, read a declaration on Bulgarian Television in which the Socialists assumed responsibility for Petur Boyadzhiev's candidacy for the post of prime minister. Simultaneously the question was posed of the overt and convert responsibility of those who foiled the formation of a government of national consensus.

Boyadzhiev Blames Zhelev

AU1012202092 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] On 10 December, within three hours the unsuccessful candidate for the post of prime minister, Petur Boyadzhiev, gave two news conferences. According to him, the basic issue at his meeting with the president on 9 December was whether it is mandatory for him the present the list of the designated cabinet. Finally, an agreement was reached that the names will not be revealed.

However, later, after the statement on Bulgarian Television that Petur Boyadzhiev was not able to present a cabinet, he decided to return to the Presidency at about 2300 and show the cabinet list. However, it turned out that there was nobody to whom he could hand the list.

Responding to a question by a journalist, Boyadzhiev admitted that he had learned at the last moment that his dual citizenship was a constitutional obstacle. However, according to him, it is the president who has the basic responsibility in the entire affair.

After the statement of Edvin Sugarev at the National Assembly, Petur Boyadzhiev gave a second news conference in which he said that Sugarev's statement was permeated by elements of fascist ideology.

BSP Head Pressured To Resign

AU1012201492 Sofia BTA in English 1949 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] Sofia, December 10 (BTA)—The disqualification of Mr. Petur Boyadzhiev, nominated for the premiership by the Bulgarian Socialist (former Communist) Party (BSP), provoked almost an hour of heated debates in parliament today. The Socialists' prime minister designate, Mr. Petur Boyadzhiev, does not meet the constitutional requirement to hold Bulgarian citizenship only and, as a result, the president refused to move his nomination to parliament yesterday. Having defected to France, Mr. Boyadzhiev was granted French citizenship in May 1989. The MP's [members of parliament] failed to make a decision on the matter today.

In a special letter sent earlier this week, the President Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev notified parliament that he could not recommend the National Assembly to elect Mr. Petur Boyadzhiev as prime minister. Official documents provided by the competent French authorities confirm that Mr. Petur Boyadzhiev is still a French citizen, the president wrote in his letter. According to Dr. Zhelev, Mr. Boyadzhiev had not given a definite answer to the question whether he had succeeded in carrying out his mandate. According to this letter, Mr. Boyadzhiev had demanded that President Zhelev agree to put forward his nomination for the premiership before parliament. Mr. Boyadzhiev told a news conference today he would not assess BSP's mandate as unsuccessful. Mr. Boyadzhiev said he had decided against introducing his prospective cabinet to the president because the list contained the names of eminent politicians of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] and he feared that they would come under pressure. Mr. Boyadzhiev counted on the support of 30 to 35 SDS MP's if his nomination would be put to a vote by open ballot.

Mr. Edvin Sugarev MP of the SDS described the Socialists' failed mandate as an "unprecedented political act." "Nominating a doomed candidate, BSP has proved that it does not want to run this country, it can't run this country and it does not dare run this country," Mr. Edvin Sugarev said. Mr. Emil Buchkov MP of the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) also bevelled sharp criticism at the BSP.

The Socialists are blaming each other for the failure of their mandate. The BSP leader, Mr. Zhan Videnov, told a news conference tonight that he would not resign. Socialist MP's did not deny that he was being pressured to do so.

The BSP floor leader, Mrs. Nora Ananieva, said she was pessimistic about DPS's mandate to form a cabinet. Under the effective constitution, it is now the turn of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms led by Mr. Ahmed Dogan, which holds only 24 seats in parliament, to form a cabinet. The spokesman for the president told BTA this afternoon that as far as he knew, no appointment has been made between the president and DPS officials.

The SDS and the DPS have already appointed their contact groups that will try to reach an agreement on a coalition government. These contacts can hardly be expected to yield any definite results before Sunday, when SDS will hold its national conference to decide the kind of concessions it could make to the DPS.

BSP Acknowledges Zhelev's Position

AU1012202492 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] On 10 December at the National Assembly building, the leader of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], Zhan Videnov, gave a special news conference at which he admitted that President Zhelyu Zhelev's

refusal to propose Petur Boyadzhiev as prime minister is based on serious constitutional considerations.

Mr. Boyadzhiev's dual citizenship is an unpleasant fact for himself, the BSP, and the president, but it is not a precedent in Bulgarian political life, Zhan Videnov said, recalling the participation of George Ganchev in the presidential elections. For the time being, the BSP has not discussed the possibility of approaching the Constitutional Court with a request to check the constitutional aspects of Mr. Boyadzhiev's mandate.

Assembly Factions Debate Issue

AU1012145892 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] At the beginning of today's National Assembly session, National Assembly chairman Georgi Yordanov read a letter from President Zhelyu Zhelev in connection with the failure of Petur Boyadzhiev to implement his mandate. The Constitution requires that the candidate for the post of prime minister have only Bulgarian citizenship, the letter reads. Boyadzhiev is a naturalized French citizen since 3 March 1989 and continues to maintain this citizenship. On 9 December 1992, on the last day of his mandate, Boyadzhiev was unable to state whether he had successfully implemented his mandate to form a cabinet. These facts, concludes the letter, do not allow me to issue a decree on proposing Petur Boyadzhiev to the National Assembly as prime minister.

Naturally, representatives of the three parliamentary factions took the floor. On behalf of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], Edvin Sugarev described the affair as the greatest political scandal in modern Bulgarian history. He further said that the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] demonstrated two things in the whole affair: first, that the Socialists are politically isolated. Their claim that they could form several cabinets is no more than empty talk. Second, it became clear that the BSP does not want and cannot rule.

Zhan Videnov said that the BSP accepts its responsibility for the problem that emerged, but also sought accountability from those who fanned a campaign of irreconcilability. According to him, the dilemma has two possible outcomes: relinquish the confrontation, or hold early elections.

On behalf of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms, Emil Buchkov described the affair as a mockery of the parliament and the Bulgarian people and urged the BSP to apologize.

The regular session of the parliament continues with discussion on the financial aspects of spring agricultural operations.

Boyadzhiev Interviewed on Forming Government

AU1012183192 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 7 Dec 92 pp 1, 8

[Interview with Petur Boyadzhiev, candidate for the post of prime minister, by Vesela Doneva; place and date not given: "Whatever Happens, My Chances of Forming a Cabinet Are Great"]

[Text] [Doneva] Mr. Boyadzhiev, are you disturbed by the categorical tone in which representatives of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] and the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS] are talking about a forthcoming, third mandate for the formation of a cabinet?

[Boyadzhiev] I would not say that I am disturbed by this fact as long as the debates proceed in a normal atmosphere, within the framework of a political discussion, or even a controversy, as long as the arguments are based on national interests, for the benefit of Bulgarian society as a whole, rather than on the basis of personal interests. I am not disturbed, as long as everything proceeds in a normal way. Our arguments will be submitted to the Bulgarian public, and then we will see. I am confident that the implementation of my mandate under the formula, which we intend to submit and which is positive, is a real chance under the present circumstances.

[Doneva] Do you have in mind the formula of a government based on national consensus?

[Boyadzhiev] A government based on national consensus, such as it was initially intended, cannot be formed yet, because the official stand of both the SDS and the DPS is negative. However, certain processes within the two aforementioned political forces indicate that their stands are likely to evolve. Whether this could happen by next Wednesday [9 November]—the forthcoming days will show. In addition to this, the process of national consensus has nothing in common with the simplistic definitions of the opponents of this idea, whom I can only describe as primitive people. National consensus is not a one-time act, but a gradual process that leads to a new state of society. We must get rid of the conspiratorial ways and the slanderous style according to which it is not important what you say, but on whose behalf you are talking.

[Doneva] You were quoted saying that after the no-confidence vote against Filip Dimitrov the balance of forces in parliament has changed. Is it this change you are relying upon in hoping that the cabinet you propose will be supported?

[Boyadzhiev] I am counting on the common sense and conscience of the 240 Bulgarian parliament members, who are our employers, so to speak. We would like to submit the best proposal; we would like to appeal to their conscience and sense of responsibility in the most effective way.

[Doneva] How would you like the vote to be—secret or open?

[Boyadzhiev] A secret vote is the current practice.

[Doneva] Nevertheless, the necessity of an open vote has recently been widely discussed.

[Boyadzhiev] I do not intend to join the pseudodemocrats and demagogues. I have no share in imposing the method of a secret vote. The parliamentary majority is responsible for it. Why was it necessary to change procedure? Simply because we are going back to the methods of the former Politburo. In the Central Committees of the past, there were always people who thought differently but knew that if they dropped as much as one word to displease the leadership, they would not only be dismissed from the meeting, but would end up in some notorious place. Let us give pluralism a chance to develop. Why should we stick to all this military discipline? This will happen sooner or later, anyway.

[Doneva] Why are some political formations so stubbornly refusing to support any government whatsoever, formed under the mandate of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], in your opinion?

[Boyadzhiev] I think that a certain traditional way of thinking, an emotional motivation, is involved in this case. It would be understandable if we were still in the period of passive resistance prior to 10 November 1989, when a negative attitude was the only method of opposition. We have overcome the stage of emotionalism. Today, 240 individuals are in charge of carrying the greatest political responsibility for the country. The element of excluding some people, which prevailed for a long time as a philosophy in our society, is still dominating the minds of those people.

[Doneva] Apart from the deputies, which political force are you striving to support?

[Boyadzhiev] The political philosophy of the future cabinet we are planning to represent is oriented toward the center.

[Doneva] Nevertheless, Dertliev categorically refused to support you.

[Boyadzhiev] Bearing the political responsibility and the courage of assuming a political assignment is one thing, while the party point of view is a different matter. I refrain from commenting on the stand of Dertliev's party for the time being. Time will tell. None of us is exempt from the possibility of committing mistakes.

[Doneva] What are your future intentions if you fail to form a cabinet? Would you renounce politics?

[Boyadzhiev] Whenever I get involved in a project, I never devote my time and efforts to expressing doubts about the success of my initiative. If I wasted my time on such thoughts I would have no time to form the cabinet. However, I know that whatever may happen, my chances of forming such a cabinet are great, and the results for the development of our political life, which are likely to appear within the next two or three months, would be impressive. If the methods of diktat, of alienation, and of stubbornness should prevail and bring the cabinet to failure, the mission we are in charge of for the benefit of our society remains unchanged, and we will pursue our efforts to successfully accomplish our mission on the occasion of the next elections.

[Doneva] Which of the former ministers will you invite to join your cabinet?

[Boyadzhiev] We have not met with any of them so far. It would be unethical on my part to discuss this question at this stage. No matter how dirty the atmosphere in our country may be today, and regardless of missing moral criteria, we are trying to set up some rules.

[Doneva] You mention the dirty atmosphere in our country today. Do you intend to react to the recent publications of the daily DEMOKRATSIYA, which quite sharply attacked you?

[Boyadzhiev] I regret that the newspaper that some people welcomed with so much hope at its appearance should stoop so low. This was a primitive attack based on hearsay rather than a form of political struggle. I also regret that they exploited the female weakness of my former wife for such purposes, but this is a personal matter.... I can tell you frankly that very soon after we established the Alliance for Bulgaria, a man from the National Intelligence Service came to tell me that Stoyan Ganev had instructed Dr. Krustyo Krustev, who was in Paris at that time, to search for some compromising material about me and the alliance. I told him: Good luck.

Policy of Noninterference in Yugoslavia Confirmed

AU1012173692 Sofia BTA in English 1658 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] Sofia, December 10 (BTA)—At a joint meeting today, the National Assembly Committees on Foreign Policy and National Security expressed their support for the Bulgarian Government's policy of non-interference in the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia in any form whatsoever, including military operations under the auspices of the United Nations or any other international security structures.

According to these two committees, the cessation of hostilities in the territory of the former Yugoslavia and the other Balkan states' refraining from involvement in the Yugoconflict would reduce the threat to Balkan and European security.

Minister Meets With Romanians on Transport Issues

AU1012201392 Sofia BTA in English 1934 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] Sofia, December 10 (BTA)—The minister of transport of Bulgaria, Aleksandur Aleksandrov and the

minister of transport and communications of Romania, Paul Theodoru held a working meeting at a holiday home near the Dryanovo Monastery (central Bulgaria) today. They discussed the opportunities for a solution of the transport and customs problems between the two countries, which have been complicated recently by the embargo against Yugoslavia.

Other items on the agenda included increasing the traffic capacity of the bridge over the River Danube between Ruse and Giurgiu, coping with the congestion at the checkpoints on both sides of the common border, organizing intermodal rail transport, extending ferry services and building new bridges over the Danube in the near future. The sides expressed readiness for a resumption of the activity of the working groups which the two ministries set up a year ago.

Mr. Theodoru assured his hosts that as from January 1, 1993 Romania will revoke the tax imposed on the fuel tankfuls of motor vehicles transiting its territory.

Delegation Departs for Frankfurt Talks on Debt

AU1012201092 Sofia BTA in English 1946 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] Sofia, December 10 (BTA)—A Bulgarian delegation left for Frankfurt this evening to continue the negotiations with the London Club on the settlement of Bulgaria's foreign debt.

The outgoing minister of finance, Mr. Ivan Kostov, told journalists at the airport in Sofia that the creditor banks were expected to answer the Bulgarian proposal made in November. I hope there will be a counterproposal, having in mind the guarantees given by the leaders of the major political forces in Bulgaria, the president and the chairman of the National Assembly during the visit of creditor banks' representatives to Sofia earlier this month, Mr. Kostov said. In his opinion, the negotiations will be normal regardless of the political situation in this country. Our indebtedness to the commercial creditors is about 8,500 million dollars, he said.

On Monday [14 December] the Bulgarian delegation will have talks with Bulgaria's official creditors in Paris on rescheduling 1992 debt-settlement payments. The deputy minister of finance, Mr. Svetoslav Gavriyski, told BTA that they would try to include 1993 payments in the scheme, though in most probability only this year's payments would be, because in principle debts are rescheduled on an annual basis.

French Military Delegation Visits for Talks

AU1012212892 Sofia BTA in English 2019 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] Sofia, December 10 (BTA)—A delegation of the French Ministry of Defence and the General Staff of the French Army led by General Jacques Rinaudo, deputy chief of the General Staff of the French Army, arrived on a two-day visit to Bulgaria. The delegation will take part in the work of the Bulgarian-French Military Cooperation Committee which is to coordinate and sign the plan for cooperation between the defence ministries of the two countries in 1993. Information will be exchanged on the problems of defence policy, security, the role of the armed forces in safeguarding peace and humanitarian aid operations.

Today General Jacques Rinaudo had a meeting with Lieutenant General [rank as received] Lyuben Petrov, chief of the General Staff of the Bulgarian Army, at the Ministry of Defence.

85 Peacekeepers Sent Home From Cambodia

AU1012212692 Sofia BTA in English 2052 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] 510 of the Bulgarian blue helmets in Cambodia will be replaced in January next year, Colonel Stefan Nikolov, who heads the newly established Special Department for Training Peace Keeping Forces with the General Staff of the Army, announced. The news is that they will be volunteers on active service instead of military of the reserve as was the case with the first group. The requirements to the Bulgarian blue helmets have been raised and the period for their training—extended. 73 people have been sent back from Cambodia for violations of discipline and 12 people—for reasons of health. [passage omitted]

'Provocative Acts' Planned for Ecoglasnost Rally

AU1012144592 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 10 Dec 92

["Message" from the Presidency Press Center]

[Text] In connection with the rally organized by the Ecoglasnost Independent Association led by Edvin Sugarev, information was obtained which states that the organizers intend to carry out provocative acts. Bottles filled with chlorine and tear-gas bombs will be thrown at people, with the intention of provoking developments similar to those at the Cafe Kristal garden in 1989. The goal is to accuse the police of repressing the people under orders of the president.

This is a sinister provocation of the extremist kind, therefore the public must be informed, the Presidency Press Center statement says.

Ecoglasnost Rejects Allegations

AU1012211692 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] The leadership of the Ecoglasnost Independent Association expresses its great indignation at the announcement by the Presidency's Press Center, which claimed that at the rally on 12 December at 1900 at the St. Aleksandur Nevski Square disorder will be caused by the throwing of bottles with chlorine and tear gas with a view to provoking police intervention and causing a

repeat of the event that took place in 1989 at the Cafe Kristal garden, subsequently bringing blame onto the president.

We interpret this announcement as pure slander. For this we will demand judicial responsibility. Obviously, through the announcement of the Presidency's Press Center, the president, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, is seeking to discredit our rally and divert public opinion from his blunder in entrusting Petur Boyadzhiev with the mandate to form a cabinet. Therefore we demand not only that he apologize, but also that he resign. We demand an answer to the question as to who is the source of the information, and why it was conveyed to the Press Center of the Presidency and not to the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Economic Losses From Serbian Sanctions Reported

AU1012151092 Sofia BTA in English 1449 GMT 10 Dec 92

["Bulgaria Lost U.S. Dollars 1,200 Million From Sanctions Against Serbia and Montenegro in 1992"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 10 (BTA)—The losses sustained by Bulgaria's economy as a result of the UN sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro will total 1,200 million U.S. dollars by the end of 1992, says a memorandum to the UN Security Council Sanctions Committee adopted by the outgoing Bulgarian cabinet today. The memorandum sets forth the amount of losses, damages and economic difficulties arising from Bulgaria's strict observance of UN Security Council's Resolutions 757 and 787. The figures released by the government do not take into account the amount of losses and lucrum cessans [as received] arising from suspended financial operations and transactions along with Bulgaria's disrupted telecommunication links, which mostly traverse the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Steadily growing indirect expenses connected with the technical support of the UN sanctions are excluded, too.

The industrial sector was the hardest hit by the UN sanctions. It lost a total of 690 million U.S. dollars due to interrupted or discontinued production links, thwarted supplies and unsold output.

Losses sustained as a result of canceled contracts, terminated deals, suspended imports and exports and halted transactions amount to 355 million dollars.

The transport sector lost some 70 million U.S. dollars.

The disruption of links between the power grids of Bulgaria and Serbia have inflicted a 22-million-dollar loss on the National Electricity Company. The construction and tourist industries have lost 5 million dollars each.

The Danube River Shipping Company has built up losses to the amount of 1 million U.S. dollar since the imposition of sanctions under UN Security Council Resolution 787.

The Bulgarian Government calls on the UN Security Council to take urgent measures and help overcome this country's peculiar economic problems resulting from the observance of the UN sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro, the memorandum reads.

The effect of the memorandum is expected to be mostly political, a senior Foreign Ministry official told the press at the government Press Office today.

Costs of Disarming Under CFE Treaty Surveyed

AU1112095792 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 8 Dec 92 p 6

[Article by Georgi Peshev: "Some Arms Producers Protest About the Prosperity of their Business, While Others Destroy Weapons for 40 Months"]

[Excerpts] The engineering plants threaten to strike, while trade union leader Krustyu Petkov claims that the civil disobedience of the arms workers in Kazanluk is a warning that our arms plants are about to collapse. This subject will remain topical for a long time to come, but the public should know that the 40-month period of the CFE [Conventional Forces in Europe] Treaty, to which we are signatories, will expire on 17 November 1995. According to the treaty, we have to implement a process of intensive disarmament, which also costs a lot of money.

As regards combat aircraft, we will be deprived of hundreds of planes, which will be destroyed in Graf Ignatievo and Bezmer by one of three methods: by cutting into small pieces, by deformation, or by using them as targets. According to Colonel Engineer Lyubomir Gechev, head of the Disarmament Department of the General Staff, almost half of the aircraft due to be destroyed (Mig-15 and Mig-17) have already been removed from operational service. The Mig-21 is also an outdated aircraft, and by the end of the period provided under the treaty will have almost completed its maximum flying life, so that the loss is not so great as appears at first glance. For an army like ours, 235 aircraft are quite sufficient if we put the emphasis on high performance. (At the moment our defense budget is unlikely to permit the purchase of modern equipment.) Here we should not forget that in the event of a flying accident the aircraft in question is deducted from the list of planes to be destroyed provided that we notify the treaty member states of the incident and provide them with the relevant documentation and evidence within 90 days.

During the initial period, the Vola Military Repair Plant at Vratsa will destroy 60 armored personnel carriers, by cutting them into pieces, blowing them up, or smashing them with a steel ball, after which the body of the carrier

has to be burst in at least three places, and the turret—in one place. [passage omitted]

During the 40-month period we have to eliminate 794 tanks from our Army. Of these, 20 have already been destroyed at the Khan Krum Plant in Turgovishte, and a further 40 are awaiting their turn. The T-34 tank is an outdated modification that is not suitable for reconstruction or modernization.... There are no foreign customers for this model, and therefore one of the recent solutions is to convert it into metal blocks. High-quality metals command a high price both at home and abroad, but the destruction of a tank to produce the metal will cost approximately 40,000 leva. [passage omitted]

Now is the moment to recall one of the statements made by Mr. Georgi Bozduganov, secretary of the Government Commission for Control of Production and Trade in Military and Special Products, in which he asserted that our authority will be ruined if we resort to trafficking in arms, and that the world will not help us introduce state-of-the-art technologies, revive our industry, and so on. This is certainly the case. One hopes that the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls will soon lift its restrictions against Bulgaria, but it should know that we will strictly fulfill our obligations regarding disarmament and implementation of the CFE Treaty.

However, the only thing not clear is why the biggest arms producers (and sellers) in the world are the most democratic of all the democrats. Since we have to learn from the United States, let us learn our lesson properly. If we want to remember the past, let us tell ourselves that this year Russia announced receipts of $5 billion from arms exports (although the weapons are not being sold to Libya, Iraq, or Yugoslavia).

In a situation like the present, no one can determine what weapons will be used to conduct local conflicts, now that impeccable tolerance holds sway in the accords reached in the arms business throughout the world.

Difficulties in Applying Privatization Act Viewed

AU0912152592 Sofia BTA in English 1214 GMT 9 Dec 92

["Why Is Privatization Tardy"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 9 (BTA)—Seven months after the entry into force of the Privatization Act and five months after the establishment of the Privatization Agency with the Council of Ministers, nothing has been achieved in practice except declaring privatization intentions, Mr. Valentin Karabashev, chairman of the National Assembly Privatization Subcommittee, told reporters recently.

He said that privatization will start when the first privatization transaction is closed. The Privatization Act is not the stumbling block, it is based on the right principles. Difficulties arise from the other statutory instruments dealing with individual privatization methods, appraisal, participation of individual transactors in privatization and indemnification of former owners. All this requires new laws. The respective bills have been introduced before parliament but have not been debated due to the cabinet crisis which has paralyzed law-making since September.

For the time being, five large-size enterprises have been earmarked for privatization, and procedures for other may be initiated before the end of the year, said Privatization Agency executive director Aleksandur Bozhkov. Still, the actual conclusion of transactions is a long way to go. The selection of appraisers by competition, appraisals and negotiations with potential buyers will take at least three months. The effect of the agency's hard work will make itself felt at the beginning of next year, Mr. Bozhkov said on national television. As a whole, the process is held back by the small-scale and municipal privatization, he believes.

Most Bulgarian municipalities have not yet started work on privatization and are reluctant to do so. This is quite understandable, Mr. Bozhkov said, because municipal property is now rented out, providing the local councils with a steady income. On the other hand, under the law they will have no share of privatization proceeds. Mr. Bozhkov sees a way out in a new tax legislation that would give local authorities an incentive to sell their property.

Labor Union Issues Declaration on Law, Order

AU1012212592 Sofia PODKREPA in Bulgarian 3 Dec 92 p 1

["Declaration of the Confederative Council of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation Regarding National Security and Public Order in the Republic of Bulgaria"; place and date not given]

[Text] Worried by the escalation of military actions and ethnic conflicts in the former Yugoslav republics and the possibility of other regions being drawn into the theater of military actions;

Worried by the state of the structures called upon to defend Bulgaria's territorial integrity against possible encroachments on the country's sovereignty;

Bearing in mind the lack of clear foreign policy and military defense doctrines, especially relating to the Balkans;

Bearing in mind the sharp rise in the crime rate and in breaches of public order in the country;

Ascertaining that the reforms have in fact stopped in the Bulgarian Army and police and that demoralization and corruption are spreading in these institutions; and

Ascertaining with alarm that extreme elements in the political forces are attempting to provoke national and ethnic hostility to serve narrow party interests,

The Confederative Council of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation makes the following appeal to the deputies of the 36th National Assembly, the president of the Republic of Bulgaria, and all the state institutions:

1. The representatives of the political forces in parliament should display the maximum sense of public responsibility and patriotism by forming a strong and effective government that will enga[illegible]n really solving the nation's immense socioeconomi[illegible]blems and, in parallel with this, apply and carry out [illegible]forms in the Armed Forces and the police within the [illegible]ortest possible time, to provide the homeland with guarantees against any possible external aggression and to curb the rising crime within the country.

2. The reform in the Army, police, and the other structures directly connected with national security should be entrusted to worthy professionals instead of to chance individuals, because dealing with the fate of the homeland in an improvised manner cannot be allowed.

3. Steps should be taken to suppress all attempts by certain groups in the political forces and by certain individuals to foment hatred between nationalities and ethnic groups at this exceptional historical moment for Bulgaria and the Balkans.

Dr. Konstantin Trenchev,
for the Confederative Council of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation.

Irregularities in Petroleum Import Purchases Noted

AU1112112592 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 3 Dec 92 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Valentin Karabashev, National Assembly deputy of the Union of Democratic Forces and member of parliamentary commission of inquiry into petroleum deals, by Raycho Raykov; place and date not given: "Three Billion Leva Swindle"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Raykov] Mr. Karabashev, what decisions did the state organs adopt? I refer to the Council of Ministers and the Foreign Ministry, which in practice handled the $150 million loan (about 3 billion leva at last year's exchange rate) constituting the first tranche received from the World Bank that went into the State Fund for Reconstruction and Development [DFRR] to be used for purchasing petroleum?

[Karabashev] The main question that our commission looked into was the mechanism for utilizing this loan, not the expediency of its use. Examining the affair in hindsight, the arguments that seemed quite convincing at the time do not seem quite so convincing now, and we may ask ourselves whether it was really necessary to use this $150 million (a World Bank loan granted for the structural reorganization of the Bulgarian economy) to purchase petroleum.

[Raykov] Notwithstanding your rhetorical question, I see nothing disturbing. Where is the problem?

[Karabashev] It is not true that there is nothing disturbing, because from this point on serious violations of the procedures established for granting loans from the DFRR began to be noted. I should stress that the DFRR held, so to speak, the money received from various foreign banks. In actual fact, Bulgaria concludes an agreement with the World Bank, and the DFRR then allocates the loan to the users. Despite the fact that the government of the time issued two documents in the second half of 1991 that broadly regulated the fund's functions and obligations, paradoxically the DFRR had no board of directors from July 1991 to May 1992!! In actual fact, throughout this period the Council of Ministers, and Finance Minister Kostov in particular, took over the board's functions. As chairman of the nonexistent board, Kostov resolved most of the issues concerning the fund! [passage omitted]

[Raykov] Who were the main importers of petroleum and petroleum products at the end of 1991 and start of 1992—the period that the commission examined—and, more importantly, did the importers pay the legal excises, duties, and taxes?

[Karabashev] It turned out that, as well as the large number of state and private companies that imported these products and paid the required duties in the normal way, a significant number of foundations and students cooperatives engaged in the same business. They took advantage of the preferences granted at that time under various normative documents. However, one should point out that they did not pay the duties and excises due. Anyone who looks at the first ten on the list will be amazed. For example, the St. Pantaleymon Foundation imported petroleum products valued at almost half a billion leva; the Punnet Systems Students Cooperative—products worth 558 million leva; the Amadeus School Students Cooperative—almost 170 million leva's worth, and so on, until we come to the Akademika Students Cooperative, which is listed as the modest importer of products worth 4.19 million leva. However, what is very important, these 10 organizations at the head of the list alone caused the state losses of 100 million leva in duties that have remained unpaid to this day, not to mention other charges due!

Further, the companies that bought the petroleum from them and resold it to the end users or to the Petroleum State Company found it very easy to compete with Neftokhim in a quite unfair manner, simply because they offered a bigger trade discount. How could they fail to do so, when they paid no taxes and dues to the state!

[Raykov] Is this your most alarming finding?

[Karabashev] What the commission establishes in its report is not so much that certain sharp dealers once again took the state for a ride, as the fact that the competent state organs failed to react in good time, despite the fact that Kostov and Pushkarov, the then

ministers of finance and industry, were more than once tipped off by Neftokhim about major swindles, about other companies and interests concealed behind the foundations and student cooperatives, and about the mysterious participation of the U.S. companies of Mark Rich and Bay Oil in the Bulgarian petroleum business. [passage omitted]

Allegations of Official Corruption Reported

AU1012152792 Sofia BTA in English 1159 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] Sofia, December 10 (BTA)—There is some suspicion of cooperation between the criminal world and some government institutions but no specific facts have been established, according to Sofia Prosecutor Nestor Nestorov who was interviewed by DEMOKRATSIYA. Prosecutors cite cases of customs services and traffic police illegally helping smugglers.

Sofia prosecutors have brought in seventy-three indictments since early 1992. Courts have ruled on thirteen (eight rulings are on road traffic offenses). These figures are negligible compared to the number of crimes, Mr. Nestorov said.

Investigations against some well-known persons here are progressing slowly. Prosecutors face obstacles as tax evasion or failure to offer guarantees for loans from banks or other financial institutions are no crimes under Bulgarian law. Such cases are treated as deception.

The case of a famous businessman charged with embezzlement of public property and unbacked borrowing of a several-million-leva loan from the State Savings Bank has been dismissed. The prosecutor, who altered the measure of restraint, several days later asked for the defendant's release.

Similar proceedings against Plamen Kavrukov, deputy director-general of Bulgargeomin, are continuing for a third year. The company effected illegal payments totalling 20 million German marks. Mr. Kavrukov himself is abroad and is being looked for.

A case has been filed against the fruit and vegetables exchange in Sofia. Damages amount to millions of leva.

Legal action has been taken against the Podkrepa Labour Confederation, a trade union amalgamation, which received 870,000 dollars' worth of cigarettes, beer, perfumes and shampoos as "humanitarian aid." No duty was paid on the goods. After the goods were sold, the proceeds were transferred abroad.

The former boss of the National Service for Organized Crime Control Tikhomir Stoychev today comments on crime in Bulgaria in an interview for 24 CHASA. "During privatization, there will be much money-laundering," he said.

According to the service, not only businessmen, former communist officials, but also large part of the present business and political elite are now engaged in money-laundering. There is danger that persons who amassed illegal wealth will be able to buy politicians and set up a lobby in parliament, Mr. Stoychev said. The ex- official was recently dismissed due to "unregulated connections with incompetent persons."

SDS Official Meets Turkish Party Members

AU1112112992 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 3 Dec 92 p 3

[Report by Ventsislav Venkov]

[Text] Adem Kenan has informed 24 CHASA that Yanko Yankov [National Assembly deputy of the Union of Democratic Forces] held political consultations over the weekend of 29 and 30 November with representatives of the future Turkish Democratic Party [TDP]. Stefan Savov was also invited to the meeting, but failed to show up.

The talks concentrated on how the National Coordinating Council of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] views the formation of the TDP. Yanko Yankov is said to have promised the party his support if it campaigns for the unity of the nation.

The TDP is expected to support the SDS political line, but does not want to be a member of the coalition. "We will not destroy the DPS [Rights and Freedoms Movement]," Adem Kenan declared, "but we will attract all the Turks and Muslims into our party." According to him, only "Communist emissaries like Dogan and Oktay" would remain in the DPS.

Kenan said that his book about Dogan is already at the printer's in Turkey, but that two Bulgarian publishers had refused to publish it in Bulgarian. "I am looking for a fearless publisher in Bulgaria who avows to guarantee freedom of speech," he said.

Nuclear Plant Claimed To Lack Money for Fuel

AU1112095692 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 7 Dec 92 p 1

[Report by Liyana Kirilova: "Fuel at Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant Almost Exhausted"]

[Text] When operating at full capacity, the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant produces half of the country's electricity, at a cost of 15-18 stotinki per kilowatt-hour, compared with 41 stotinki to 1.50 leva for thermoelectric power plants.

If an accident like Chernobyl occurs at Kozloduy, we will not get away with "carefully washing fruit in copious amounts of water." The maize research institute at Knezha has reported that it has recorded mutations in 25 percent of the grains in young corncobs. Professor Tsvetan Bonev, head of the Atomic Physics Department at Sofia University, describes this claim as "absolute nonsense."

In the report of the mission sent by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions to inspect safety at Kozloduy, we read: We found rubbish left lying about, puddles of water, dripping pipes, and broken glass. We saw people eating, drinking, and smoking at the entrance to the active zone. The sizes of the protective clothing were too large. Once we even had to reach an arm through a broken pane of glass to close an elevator door.... However, in our assessment so far there is no "black spot" regarding the safety of the systems. The high degree of professionalism shown by the specialists is acknowledged by all the international experts visiting the plant during the day. The commissioning of the reactors following repairs is being carried out under international control. The No. 2 reactor will start operation in a fully serviceable condition around Christmas, and the Nos. 1 and 3 reactors will start up in a few months.

However, Kozloduy is on a restricted financial diet. Some 700 million leva is needed for the reconstruction work this year, of which only one-third has been provided, and this has a direct impact on safety. Europe has provided 11 million ecu [european currency units] for this purpose. However, Georgi Nikolov, a technologist specializing in nuclear safety systems and inspection of metal structures, claims that this money is returning to the place it came from. Since last autumn, groups of 20 European experts have been living in the hotel in Kozloduy (provided with car, secretary, satellite antenna, and so on), working as consultants to the Bulgarians, for which they receive the ecus back. In the office of Yordan Yordanov, chief of the safety section (now no longer in this post), a frame hangs on the wall ready to display the first donated dollar bill as a mark of gratitude. This frame has remained empty to this day.

The Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant has turned out to be a tasty morsel for foreign companies. The price of a replacement for a defective pump in one of the reactor units that was bought for $20,000 leaped to $140,000 following the recent furor about the "terrible conditions" at Kozloduy. I have the feeling that when they ask me questions, they show great interest in "details" that have nothing to do with our weak spots, Georgi Nedyalkov says.

The pressure systems at Kozloduy were designed to oversized dimensions, bigger than those in Western countries. If a vessel wall has to be nine cm thick, they select 11 cm as the most efficient solution, whereas in Bulgaria we choose the safest solution—20 cm. Similar comparisons can be made regarding the quality and composition of the alloys and in the turbines and pipelines. The Kozloduy reactors are three times safer than the ones in Belgium, for example, and they are one-and-a-half times safer than the U.S. ones. One-quarter of the U.S. reactors are designed to a 200-percent safety factor, whereas the ones at Kozloduy have a 300-percent factor.

A vast industry pours out equipment for which we are an ideal market. Of course, if Kozloduy is rebuilt, it will be much better than it is now. The issue is whether we are able to do this. Are the Belgians, French, and Americans more stupid than us in that they are not doing this with their own nuclear plants?

Unless Kozloduy receives 2 billion leva for fuel by the end of January, four of the six reactor units will be shut down in April. The fuel has to be ordered and paid for several months before delivery, while the producers, God willing, are Russians, French, and so on. Money, however, is short. It is left for the outgoing government to decide, and at the moment it is very difficult to say how stable the next government will be. The same is true regarding the stabilization of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant.

National Census 70 Percent Completed

AU1012144492 Sofia BTA in English 1334 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] Sofia, December 10 (BTA)—About 70 percent of Bulgaria's population and housing stock have been counted in the census under way now, Mr. Ivan Belev, chief of the National Census Department, told a news conference held at the National Statistical Institute today. Judging by information released by territorial statistical offices, the national census, which started on December 4, is making a fine progress.

On the whole, people are well disposed to the current census, Mr. Belev said. According to him, there were only isolated cases of boycotting the census when census-takers were denied access to households, people refused to give information or deliberately provided false data. Such cases are most common in Sofia and very rare in other areas of the country. Most problems arise over questions concerning religion, ethnicity and mother tongue. These questions, which had been included on the questionnaire at the request of the Grand National Assembly Population Policy Committee, prompted census boycott appeals from nationalist organizations like the outlawed Ilinden United Macedonian Organization and the National Radical Party. Similar appeals were voiced in borderland areas near Blagoevgrad, Turgovishte, Kurdzhali, Smolyan, Sofia, Razgrad and elsewhere.

Experts believe the deadline will be met and the census will be completed by December 14, 1992. Some preliminary results concerning sex, age, permanent residence and educational status will be released as early as the end of December. The final results, however, will be processed and announced at the end of 1993.

Daily Claims Meciar Knew About Consulate Bugging

AU1012184192

[Editorial Report] Czech and Slovak newspapers on 7 and 8 December report extensively on the recent discovery of a tapping device in the building of the U.S. Consulate in Bratislava. Some of these reports are based on the newspapers' own investigations of the incident and quote Interior Ministry or secret service sources on its background; one of these reports alleges that the bugging equipment was operated "with the knowledge" of Slovak Prime Minister Meciar.

Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 7 December on page 2 carries an 800-word Martin Hric report entitled "Bugs at the U.S. Consulate." Referring to the newspaper's own investigation of the incident, Hric claims that "the tapping equipment was installed in the building 15 years ago! The building at Hviezdoslav Square in Bratislava, property of the United States, served for many years as accommodation for U.S. diplomatic messengers. About five years ago, the building underwent an extensive renovation by Italians. They did not discover the tapping equipment. However, Czechoslovak 'plumbers' made use of a brief vacuum after the building's approval for occupancy to test the operation of the system." Hric points out that the tapping devices that were used in Czechoslovakia prior to November 1989 were all imported, which could explain the "modern design" of the equipment referred to by U.S. sources. Hric notes that in 1990, when Richard Sacher, then federal minister of interior, ordered the elimination of all tapping systems installed in foreign missions, only the recording equipment in the adjacent building was eliminated, and the connecting cables were cut off. No action was taken in the consulate building itself.

The report continues: "Asked why the bugs were discovered only on 18 November 1992, the man who installed the equipment and who does not wish to be named replied with a boyish smile: 'I apparently did a professional job....' However, the sloppy dismantling did not let him rest. He suspected a future international affair. Allegedly, he therefore several times turned in writing to Dienstbier's Ministry of Foreign Affairs so that the detonator might be defused in time by diplomatic and technical means. The relevant folder with letters should be somewhere at the ministry. However, nothing happened, however!"

In conclusion, Hric points out that the bugs at the U.S. Consulate were discovered six weeks before the day Slovakia intended to ask the United States for diplomatic recognition and suggests that the discovery could be a well-timed provocation. He says: "It is a downright curiosity that, according to available information, the 'disinfesting' of the U.S. Consulate, that is, its electronic protection, is in charge of a private English firm whose co-owner is the wife of a man who has until recently been a high-level official at the Federal Ministry of Interior. Hence, there was a certain chance of disclosing long-dead bugs at a suitable moment even without any electronic devices."

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 8 December on pages 1 and 2 carries a 1,400-word Peter Ondera report entitled "Who Benefits from This Affair?" The report quotes a statement made to the newspaper by an alleged "witness" to the installation of the tapping equipment. According to this "former longstanding higher-level officer of Czechoslovak counterintelligence who does not wish to be named," the "equipment was assembled, maintained, and modernized in the years 1984-87. It was a highly modern foreign system installed deep in the walls and in the floor of the historical building. It is therefore easily conceivable that the deadened bugs were not brought to light by possible inspections." PRAVDA's informant claims that very accurate documentation, including photographs, was previously kept on the installation of all tapping devices, which "must still exist at the Federal Ministry of Interior or at the Federal Security and Information Service, unless it has been destroyed."

Prague METROPOLITNI TELEGRAF in Czech on 8 December on page 3 carries a 400-word "lk"-signed report entitled "With Vladimir Meciar's Knowledge? Testimony by an Officer of the Slovak Ministry of Interior." The report states: "An employee of the Slovak Ministry of Interior who does not wish to be named said in an interview for our daily yesterday that the bugging equipment at the U.S. Consulate was operated and supposedly exploited with the knowledge of present Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar. According to our source, the operation of the bugging equipment was part of an agreement that Vladimir Meciar concluded with representatives of the former KGB, specifically, after changes in the Soviet Union, with representatives of the Ukrainian intelligence service. According to the unnamed employee of the Slovak Ministry of Interior, the tapes were passed on to former KGB staffers on the territory of Ukraine for evaluation.

"Our source also confirmed the almost 18-month-old assertion of Leonard Cimo, former director of the Slovak Interior Ministry's Inspection Authority. He stated, furthermore, that more information-gathering technology had been installed on the territory of Bratislava, most of it with the knowledge of Prime Minister Meciar and former Slovak Police President Lastovka (today's first deputy to Federal Interior Minister Cermak).

"At the same time, according to our informant, information-gathering devices of the Slovak Police have also been used for the needs of the successors to the KGB and the GRU [Soviet Military Intelligence]. The employees performing individual assignments did not know whom they were really serving."

In conclusion, the METROPOLITNI TELEGRAF report claims that "staffers of the illegitimate Slovak secret police also operate on the territory of Bohemia

and Moravia" where they reportedly "recruit prospective collaborators in state administration bodies and left-wing political circles." The daily promises "to return to this issue on Thursday, 10 December 1992."

Ministry Official on Bugging

LD1112032692 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Slovak 0700 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Excerpt] Peter Kuchar, Slovak Interior Ministry spokesman, said that nobody at the ministry level could have issued the order to use listening devices in the U.S. Consulate General building. According to Kuchar, the Slovak interior minister has never had such devices at his disposal. Only agencies of the Federal Ministry of Interior and of the Federal Security and Information Service have these devices at their disposal. He declined to comment on the U.S. Embassy statement that these devices were still functioning in November 1992.

The ministry will comment on this issue only after it has received official notification from the U.S. Government. He went on to say that federal bodies were investigating the whole affair and that a commission has also been formed at the federal level. He recalled that the Slovak Republic interior minister had taken up the offer of Federal Interior Minister Petr Cermak on 9 December and had appointed a representative of the Slovak Interior Ministry to this commission. CTK did not give his name. [passage omitted]

No Information Until Investigation Ends

LD1112025992 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1400 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] In connection with the discovery of bugging devices in the building of the U.S. Consulate General in Bratislava the public will not receive any information until the entire set of circumstances has been completely investigated. According to Deputy Interior Minister Stefan Lastovka, who has been entrusted to clarify the case, this will avoid possible misunderstandings. The deadline as to when the report on the results of the investigations might be published has not been specified by the deputy minister.

Meciar: U.S. Not Cooperating

LD1112132692 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1200 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Text] According to Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, U.S. officials refused to show the Slovak side the dismantled [bugging] devices when investigating the affair of the bugging of the U.S. Consulate in Bratislava. Furthermore, as Vladimir Meciar said, U.S. officials refused to present evidence that the devices were functioning still in November, to appoint their representative to the Slovak investigation commission, and to make known the number plate and type of the car that was following the staff of the Consulate. I have no idea who is playing this dirty game with us, said the Slovak prime minister. He added that similar devices are in Prague, too. But, as he said, the Slovak side is not making this fact public.

Prague Dailies Comment on Operation Restore Hope

AU1112082592

[Editorial Report] Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 7 December on page 9, under the headline "Operation 'Restore Hope' Brings Relief to Somalia," carries a 600-word commentary by Tomas Turecek on the U.S. military intervention in Somalia. He writes that the "decision to intervene in Somalia, a country dying of hunger and suffering under plundering hordes, was made a few minutes after midnight; despite this, however, it is a fundamental decision." In his opinion, this intervention is the first of its kind in U.S. history as "the issue does not involve protection of its own interests, but the fact that it is impossible to continue watching as hundreds of thousands of people die unnecessarily of hunger somewhere on the other side of the world. Such a shift suggests a significant change in U.S. foreign policy, a change that would be implemented when the last U.S. soldier leaves Somali territory." According to Turecek, "following the intervention by U.S. troops, scenes horrific on account of their absurdity—in which sacks of corn are piled several meters high in a number of places in the country and in which people are dying because Somali bandits have prevented them from gaining access to the food—should come to an end."

Prague METROPOLITNI TELEGRAF in Czech on 7 December on page 5, under the headline "What Will Happen After the Intervention in Somalia?" carries a 700-word commentary by Ivan Louka on the same subject. In his opinion, the U.S. decision to intervene in Somalia came "suddenly" following the White House's "earlier reservations and reluctance." Louka thinks two things are surprising about the Somali developments. First, "why did the international community not decide to intervene by force earlier" and "why did the United States change its mind and volunteer 20,000 of its own men for the operation." He comments on the doubts expressed by the U.S. press about the operation—"Why now? What strategic considerations ordained such a decision? Why such a massive engagement?"

Louka writes that the "CIA warned the U.S. Government against a direct military intervention in Somalia. It agreed with the view that it is possible to carry out a military intervention quickly and successfully, however, the next task—creating new and functioning structures in the country—is an extremely sensitive task and, moreover, is a very long-term one. The CIA thinks it highly likely that the renewal of the country will only be possible under several years of UN guardianship or its mandate. However, this does not have to be a task for the United States, whose units may, after a successful intervention, withdraw from the country and leave the search for a political solution to the United Nations."

According to the commentator, "a big question mark hangs over the reaction by ordinary Somalis to the United States' armed presence." Although many of them will welcome Operation Restore Hope, "a considerable part of the local population will certainly be influenced by the warring parties' propaganda, according to which western colonialists are preparing to enslave the entire country and deprive it of its (nonexistent) oil wealth." In conclusion, Louka refers to the anxiety expressed by many experts that the country "may easily slide back into anarchy as soon as the U.S. units leave and famine may once again manifest itself here."

Law on Ending Federation Takes Effect 8 Dec

AU1112114592 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 4 Dec 92 p 2

[Report by "sh": "The Law on the Termination of the CSFR Takes Effect on 8 December"]

[Text] The constitutional law on the termination of the CSFR has been assigned the number 542/1992, and the constitutional law on the division of CSFR property between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic and its transfer to the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic, the number 541/1992. Both laws will be promulgated (published) in installment No. 110 of this year's ZBIERKA ZAKONOV [Legal Gazette], which will be sent out on 8 December 1992. This means that both laws will take effect on that day (the Federation will, of course, cease to exist on 31 December). Beginning on 8 December, the national councils and other appropriate state bodies of the republics will thus be able to change, amend, and abolish legislation, as well as other generally binding legal regulations issued by CSFR bodies, without any federal limitations, constitutional or otherwise.

Slovak Government Approves State Draft Budget

LD1112095292 Prague CTK in English 0852 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 11 (CTK)—The Slovak Government, at a special Thursday [10 December] night session, approved a 1993 draft state budget for Slovakia totalling 158,800 million crowns (5,671 million USD [U.S. dollars]).

Slovak Finance Minister Julius Toth said at a press conference after the session that though the budget was meant to be balanced, he would be happy if it only reached a deficit of 5 per cent. New tax structures should bring in 94,668 million crowns (3,381 million USD) in revenue to state coffers. Additional revenue of 51,018 million crowns (1,822 million USD) will come from social, health, and retirement insurance. Other sources are counted on to bring in 12,446 million crowns (4,445 million USD). A total of 8,200 million crowns (293 million USD) has been set aside for military spending and the building of a Slovak Army, Toth said.

Nearly 30 per cent of government spending from the state budget, representing 51,000 million crowns (1,820 million USD) will be directed to the Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and the Family.

Finance Minister Comments on Economic Outlook

AU1012161292 Prague CTK in English 2250 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Prague, Dec 8 (CTK)—The Czech Government expects a gradual economic recovery next year, a balanced budget and the growth of gross domestic product in the range of 1 to 3 percent, Czech Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik (ODS) told a Left Bloc caucus meeting in the Czech parliament today.

The Left Bloc forms the main part of Czech opposition and is comprised chiefly of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia. It obtained 14 percent of votes in the June elections and holds 35 seats in the 200-member Czech National Council.

The minister stressed that signs of economic recovery have started to appear this year. He mentioned the construction industry's performance, a 2-percent rise in industrial production and much higher retail sales. Speaking of the wage policy, Kocarnik said that the government would cease to regulate wages but recommended that their growth be held under 15 percent. If this proves impractical, the government would reintroduce regulations which could include a wage freeze, according to Kocarnik. The inflation rate should be held under 17 percent next year and the unemployment rate should not surpass 10 percent, he said.

Asked by the deputies about the division of federal property between the Czech and Slovak Republics, Kocarnik said that several lesser problems remained yet unresolved, one of which was the division of the Czechoslovak State Bank's assets. Furthermore, Slovakia possesses unsecured credit in the Czech Republic worth 7,000 million crowns (240 million USD [U.S. dollars]) and this year's bank deposits in Slovakia amounted to about 5 percent of the country-wide figure, Kocarnik said.

Slovak TV Chief 'Insists' on Hungarian Name Ban

AU1112103192 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 4 Dec 92 p 2

[TA SR report: "Piatko Demands an Apology"]

[Text] Bratislava— Bohuslav Piatko, chief producer of the Production Center for News and Sports of Slovak Television, rejects the accusation that he has violated the constitutional and other rights of the Hungarian ethnic minority. The accusation was raised against him by the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement [MKDH]-Egyutteles coalition after his ban, issued on 18 November, on the use of Hungarian names of towns and communities in programs for Hungarian citizens.

Bohuslav Piatko insists on defending his decision and regards the accusation of "Pezlarite [reference to Ludovit Pezlar, chief ideologist of the Slovak Communist Party during the "normalization era"] and communist methods" in the management of television news programs, raised by the Hungarian coalition, as questioning his managerial powers. He demands an apology from Arpad Duka-Zolyomi (Coexistence) and Vojtech Bugar (MKDH), who signed the protest letter addressed to the TA SR.

According to V. Dzurik, head of the Legislative Department of the National Council of the Slovak Republic, the right of national minorities to disseminate and receive information in their mother tongue, which is declared in the Constitution, as well as the right to use their language in dealings with the authorities is not affected by this [ban].

Slovak Radio Creates Program For German Minority

AU1112123792 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 4 Dec 92 p 24

[Report by "bi": "Santa Claus for Germans"]

[Text] Presov—On the basis of a long-planned expansion of foreign-language radio programs by Slovak Radio's Main Editorial Office for Ruthenian-Ukrainian Broadcasts in Presov, the first 60-minute music and current affairs program for the German minority in Slovakia will be broadcast on Sunday, 6 December, at 0630. Listeners will be greeted by Doctor Dieter Bricke, general consul of the FRG in Bratislava, and Stella Avallova [name as published], vice consul of the Republic of Austria. A Romany-language program will start in Presov a week later.

Hungarian, Slovak News Agencies Hold Talks

LD1012171592 Budapest MTI in English 1922 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] Bratislava, December 9 (MTI)—Preparatory talks for a wide-range cooperation agreement between the Hungarian news agency (MTI) and the Slovak news agency (TA SR) were held in Bratislava on Wednesday [9 December] by General Directors Otto Oltvanyi and Dusan Kleiman.

MTI has become the first news agency to enter into relations with the News Partner Organisation of the Slovak Republic. The Slovak News Organisation will itself be independent from January 1. The MTI delegation met first Slovak Deputy Premier Roman Kovac on Wednesday. The meeting was attended by Jeno Boros, Hungarian consul-general in Bratislava.

Scale of Nuclear Waste Disposal Problem Outlined

AU1012190292 Prague METROPOLITNI TELEGRAF in Czech 8 Dec 92 p 6

[CTK report: "Problems With Nuclear Waste"]

[Text] "The Czech Republic will be facing problems connected with the disposal of nuclear waste in the coming years, unless the project of an intermediary depot for spent nuclear fuel in Dukovany is implemented," Zdenek Kriz, a representative of the Czechoslovak Atomic Energy Commission, said on 7 December.

An intermediary depot with a total capacity for 5,000 cases [kazety] was opened at Jaslovske Bohunice in 1987 (each case contains 120 kilograms of spent fuel). A total of 3,500 cases are stored in the intermediary depot at present. According to Zdenek Kriz, nuclear power stations in the CSFR generate between 800 and 900 cases of spent fuel annually. The capacity of the intermediary depot at Jaslovske Bohunice will thus be exhausted in less than two years.

Nuclear power stations in the CSFR have produced 9,300 cases of spent fuel since the start of their operation. Of this, 676 cases, that is, about 7 percent, were exported to the countries of the former Soviet Union in the years 1983-86. The remaining cases are being stored on the premises of Czechoslovak nuclear power stations and in the intermediary depot at Jaslovske Bohunice. "Since 1986 when we stopped exporting nuclear waste to Russia, all of it has been stored in Czechoslovakia," Zdenek Kriz said.

Drugs Seized at Prague Airport For Sixth Time

LD1112043692 Prague CTK in English 2205 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] Prague, Dec 9 (CTK)—One and a half kilograms of cocaine worth several thousand dollars were seized by customs officers at Prague's Ruzyne Airport today.

Karel Thiele from the central customs authority said the drug was brought to Czechoslovakia by a Zimbabwean student who is a British citizen. The 1,660 grams of cocaine wrapped in 217 small rolls were found in six plastic bottles containing Johnson and Johnson baby powder. The student was detained in Bratislava for which he left without the luggage concerned. According to the Slovak news agency TA SR, the student announced the loss of the luggage just after the plane landed. Slovak policemen found no further drugs on the student when they were detaining him. Thiele said this has been the sixth case of drug seizure at Ruzyne Airport.

U.S. Role in Europe Stressed in Letter to Clinton

LD1112042092 Budapest MTI in English 2343 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] Washington, December 10 (MTI)—In a letter addressed to U.S. President-elect Bill Clinton, Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall stressed that the sustained presence of the United States in Europe would be indispensable for the changes in East-Central Europe to be irreversible and for the forthcoming crises to be avoidable, State Secretary Gyula Kodolanyi, the prime minister's adviser, told the press on Thursday [10 December].

The state secretary presented Antall's letter to Leon Fuerth, senior foreign policy advisor to Vice-President-elect Albert Gore, on Thursday.

In the letter, Antall proposes that, through the consolidation of existing international institutions, the United States should undertake a leading role in providing guarantees for the security of the East Central European countries and the prevention of further crises.

The developments in the former Yugoslavia show the consequences of Western hesitation and failure to take resolute action, Kodolanyi said.

He added that Fuerth was very well-informed about the issues of the region, and showed profound interest in Hungary's home and foreign policy situation.

No American soldier should die for Bosnia, the state secretary said. According to the Hungarian position, the huge technological edge of the United States and NATO, the consistent enforcement of the ban on flights, and larger political and military pressure would be sufficient for settling the crisis. This would be more efficient than the economic blockade, which helped Milosevic's argument that the world pooled force against Serbia be believed.

The state secretary is scheduled to meet Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger and attend a reception of George Bush.

Official Views Central European Cooperation

AU1112102592 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 5 Dec 92 p 8

[Interview with Andras Szabo, deputy head of a main department at the Hungarian Foreign Ministry and the Hungarian coordinator of the Central European Initiative, by Katalin Decsi; place and date not given: "Spontaneous Contacts Instead of Conformity"]

[Text] The year 1993 will be an outstanding year for Hungarian diplomacy. Hungary will continue to be a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council. From April 1993, Hungary will be the president of the Danube Committee, and Hungary will also be the coordinator in the Central European Initiative next year. In addition, Hungary will organize the conference dealing with cooperation along the Danube River. We interviewed Andras Szabo, deputy head of a main department at the Hungarian Foreign Ministry and Hungarian coordinator of the Central European Initiative, and asked him what the Hungarian diplomacy was expecting from its position as an international coordinator.

[Decsi] The Central European Initiative began as a four-sided initiative in November 1989. To what extent have the original goals changed or remained the same in the past three years?

[Szabo] As a historical experiment, the quadripartite cooperation wanted to prove that Italy, as a NATO and EC member, the non-aligned Yugoslavia, neutral Austria, and Warsaw Pact and CEMA member Hungary could cooperate successfully. Revolutionary changes have taken place in this region since then. An identical valuing of democratic norms is dominant among the participants today. This cooperation has survived the change in the regimes in Eastern Europe.

The Central European Initiative is the only forum suitable for discussing the special problems of our region. Because political issues have gained ground in this region, the political aspect has come to the fore in this cooperation, along with the economic aspect that has enjoyed priority so far. This includes contacts with the Council of Europe, the CSCE, and the EC. We are conducting expert consultations about the special problems of the national minorities. I would like to add that this kind of regional cooperation not only affects our region, but it could also have a stabilizing effect on the whole of Europe.

[Decsi] This cooperation has been constantly expanding since its inception. Today, the members include Austria, Hungary, the CSFR, Italy, Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina. According to the plans, the independent Czech Lands and Slovakia will replace the CSFR on 1 January 1993. How will this affect the members?

[Szabo] This issue emerged at the foreign ministers' meeting held in Graz in November. The participants agreed that the separation of the CSFR cannot be treated identically with the independent republics that have emerged from the former Yugoslavia because the conditions and circumstances are totally different in the two cases. It would not be desirable to grant only a temporary observer status to the two independent states, and to grant full membership only later, as in the case of Croatia and Slovenia.

At the same time, according to the opinion of Hungarian diplomacy, nor would it be desirable for the Czech Lands and Slovakia to automatically gain permanent membership because this would contradict international practice: Full membership is connected to various criteria in every organization. The most important thing is that the international community should recognize the independent status of the given state and that the country in question should ask for membership. We also find it

desirable that the two republics constantly fulfill the obligations previously accepted by the federal government.

[Decsi] Has the foreign ministers' conference in Graz brought any new decisions?

[Szabo] Yes. This was the first time that the foreign ministers met with foreign ministers of countries interested in this cooperation (Belarus, Ukraine, Bulgaria, and Romania). This does not mean the expansion of the cooperation, but these countries received permission to participate in various professional working groups.

[Decsi] What has been achieved from the large-scale concepts decided at the summit meeting held in Venice in 1990?

[Szabo] Economic activity is being carried out in 13 working groups. Some 120 projects have been worked out so far. The national coordinators have selected seven projects that will have priority: The Trieste-Budapest highway and railroad; The Vienna-Budapest-Belgrade railroad; The Prague-Budapest-Rijeka railroad; The Baltic-Adriatic corridor (highway and railroad); a telecommunications network in the Balkans; and improving the efficiency of the energy system connecting the member states.

The European Bank for Research and Development in London promised to cooperate in working out these projects, but we need the financial support of the donor countries to start them.

[Decsi] People have to wait in line for hours at some border crossing points. We know little, if anything, about each other's language and culture. There used to be a Central European awareness here in the past. It seems that this awareness has disappeared today.

[Szabo] We would like to make use of our one-year presidency to strengthen this awareness, the common language, the language of democracy, and to make better use of economic contacts that can bring genuine results. The conference on cooperation along the Danube River to be organized by Hungary could also contribute to this endeavor. After the collapse of the uniformity and conformity forced upon this region and the collapse of the walls separating the eastern part of Europe from its western part, the spontaneous contacts connecting the Central European countries should be restored.

Antall Views Problems With Slovakia, Serbia

AU1112085592 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 10 Dec 92 p 7

[Report on interview with Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall by Georg Paul Hefty: "No Recognition of Accomplished Facts"]

[Excerpts] Budapest, 9 December—Hungarian Prime Minister Antall makes it quite plain that he will not permit anybody to dispute his right to the chairmanship of the Democratic Forum, the biggest coalition party, and to ruin his party. Last weekend [5-6 December] he put such a tight rein on the members of the immediate party leadership, among them Deputy Chairman Csurka, that he demonstrated his claim to leadership to the public by the external circumstances alone. [passage omitted]

In an interview with this newspaper, the prime minister reported on the difficulties after the change of a system, where those who keep aloof from power are only watching how the others who gathered valuable experience in the vicinity of power demonstrate their advantage. "Who is right and how is justice to be done to both?

Referring to the so-called media controversy that, for months, has occupied those in Budapest most who make public propaganda, Antall said that it is precisely the securing of the freedom of the press that he is advocating, which is not guaranteed under the present leadership of radio and television. [passage omitted]

Now the government coalition has integrated the budget of the two institutions into the prime minister's budget. Antall defends this step by saying that he has the right of supervision, but that the right to influence the work of the press is not deduced from it. "The budgets of the autonomous universities are part of the budget of the Culture Ministry, those of the independent courts are included in the budget of the Justice Ministry." Now it looks as if the present directors will have to give up after all and Goncz will get the opportunity to draw out the documents of dismissal on the request of the affected people. Antall wants it to be understood as a compromise offer that he proposed the appointment of deputy directors to ensure its functioning until the media law comes into force. "We want radio regulations according to the Western example and not a broadcasting corporation that is subject to the government."

The Budapest government not only has difficulties within the country, but also outside, above all at the northern and southern borders. What are the prime minister's ideas for solutions? "Not only the difficulties should be mentioned," Antall answered and enumerated the successes of his government from the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact onward to the fruitful relations with Russia, which he explains by the fact that, among all heads of government, he was the second to call President Yeltsin in the besieged parliamentary building during the Soviet coup.

"In general, we only have problems where Hungarian minorities are living and where their rights are not ensured." With Slovenia, Hungary has as well-ordered relations as with Croatia. "There are tensions because of the Hungarian minorities in Serbia, Romania, and to a certain extent, in Ukraine, with which, however, we have made agreements." Just as in Russia's case, Hungary was also the first state to establish relations under international law with Ukraine.

Despite EC Commissioner Andriessen's mediation, the controversy over the diversion of the Danube near Gabcikovo/Bos has not yet been solved, also because the London agreement is not being observed. Under the leadership of Martonyi, state secretary for foreign affairs, Hungarian experts are negotiating on the petition that Hungary will present to the International Court of Justice together with Slovakia to achieve a decision, since the diversion of the river is violating the Versailles peace treaty where the border was defined in the middle of the main river. "But we neither want to isolate Slovakia nor have the project become a source of constant tension." However, there are also differences because of the—even under constitutional law—insufficient treatment of the Hungarian minority in the neighboring country. The Hungarian example of superscriptions in two languages where the minority is one-fourth of the population is not being followed, he said.

In Vojvodina physical tension and danger can be felt. "It is obvious that Hungarian-Serbian relations are strained by the embargo because Hungary must directly watch over the embargo and implement it since all lines to Serbia, starting with telephone lines, go via Hungary." That is the key question of mutual relations. "Because of the UN embargo, we are in the most difficult situation and we are the main encumbrance for Serbia." Hungary, which is now a member of the World Security Council, adheres to its mandate, "and the world not only has to take note of that, but also has to help us protect the Hungarian minority in Vojvodina, where about 400,000 Hungarians live." What can this help be? "We are pleased that there are UN missions on Hungarian territory, regard the AWACS [airborne warning and control system] flights as necessary, and consider it important that the UN peace troops should also play a role in Vojvodina." They should also be able to ensure that in the Baranya triangle Serbs do not settle instead of the expelled Hungarians and that the Hungarians' return is made possible. "But the troops are not doing that."

Roughly 50,000 refugees from former Yugoslavia have come to Hungary since the beginning of the war, Antall said. "Compared to that, we have received little help." Moreover, Hungary is on the south-north route of the traffic of human beings; the number of those who go through Hungary to the West in the course of months, do not apply for asylum, but cause enormous costs, is estimated at up to 1 million. Is there not the danger that Hungary, with Western help for the development of the infrastructure, will become the border guard of Western Europe? In a striking way, Antall recalled that the European cordon sanitaire once existed precisely in that region. "Western Europe does not want mobility from the direction of the East." Even if the imminent dangers in the East can be warded off, the south-north movement will become the problem of the 21st century. "The West is burying its head in the sand if it thinks that it can preserve the former state." From both points of view, NATO has to include the wedge-shaped region east of Germany and north of Turkey in its transatlantic concept and strategy with precise demarcation. "It is inconceivable to regard this region as no-man's-land from the point of view of interest policies." With a view to Hungarian defense, Antall thinks that both modernization, as far as it is permitted by the budget, and close relations with NATO are necessary. "The Americans must stay in Europe, and NATO must be resolutely maintained." In particular, it is essential to prepare for local wars not only militarily.

The Hungarian prime minister reproaches the political leaderships in the West for their inability to understand the way of thinking of European and Asiatic dictatorships or former dictatorships. Politicians who are shaped by such dictatorships take the West's tolerance into account in their illegal actions: The West's indignation is forgotten in one or two years, while the accomplished facts pay off in the long run, he said. "As long as that mentality exists in the West and as long as dictatorships do not feel a change, the world will be in danger. Those who commit vile deeds and are still embraced by the West after a few years, as happened to Janos Kadar, will not be deterred from anything in this way. In this way, the internationally essential minimum in moral standards will not be effected," Antall warned.

Defense Official Views Nation's Defense Capability

AU1012173192 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 7 Dec 92 p 5

[Report on interview with Tibor Koszegvari, director of the Strategic and Defense Research Institute of the Hungarian Defense Ministry, by Irene Szabo; place and date not given: "To What Extent Is Hungary Incapable of Defending Itself?"]

[Text] According to Tibor Koszegvari, director of the Strategic and Defense Research Institute of the Hungarian Defense Ministry, in its current state, the Hungarian Army is not suitable for averting a large-scale attack. However, in his opinion, even if for only selfish interests, NATO and the United States would be forced to help us in such a case because, if a large-scale military aggression is carried out against Hungary, this will also affect the West. Tibor Koszegvari made these statements after talking to NATO politicians and high-ranking officers.

We asked Tibor Koszegvari's opinion about the extent to which Hungary is capable of defending itself and the extent of the military threat. In view of the identity crisis and technology problems, along with the development budget problems facing the Hungarian Army, could this army do something against the existing danger?

According to Tibor Koszegvari, the issue of defenselessness does not start from problems facing our army because there are sources of danger that we must take into account and prepare for as much as possible. The greatest such danger that can bring catastrophe to the

whole world comes from the almost 25,000 nuclear warheads on the territory of the former Soviet Union (which would be enough to destroy the earth several times), and the huge amount of other nuclear weapons that Yeltsin promised to store if he received Western aid. According to Tibor Koszegvari, the former Soviet Armed Forces of several million troops represent an additional danger because its leaders and generals continue to entertain empire thoughts. Consequently, the spirit of dissipated world empire plans could be revived any time, and we know from history that blind soldiers are capable of irrational things. Narrowing the circle, one can say that an Ukrainian-Russian conflict would also be dangerous for us because of stray missiles, planes, and bullets.

Tibor Koszegvari quoted Interior Minister Peter Boross as saying regarding the flow of refugees that "the country is full." In spite of this, no one can guarantee that thousands of refugees will refrain from coming from Ukraine, refugees driven toward the west by internal wars. Nor can we exclude the possibility that the famine zone in Africa will spread, and hordes of people will head toward Europe to get food, clothes, and money. Armed diversionary groups can easily be "hidden" among these hordes of people, and this will be the end of the old continent. As an example, Mr. Koszegvari mentioned the Turkish and Egyptian volunteers fighting in Sarajevo and Bosnia, volunteers backed by Islamic fundamentalists.

Tibor Koszegvari calls the spreading of international arms and drug traffic an even closer and more tangible danger. The mafia is making use of any means because of the great profits involved in this business. Tibor Koszegvari called our attention to the fact that Hungary's energy dependence on Eastern oil sources and natural gas supplies makes us vulnerable to blackmail. Our economy could be paralyzed if we do not expand our energy purchase sources. Among the possible domestic sources of danger, Tibor Koszegvari mentioned the natural catastrophes, but in his view this does not cause serious headaches, but the exacerbation of ethnic, national minority, religious, and cultural controversies does cause serious headaches. It is true, however, that this is not a military issue but a political one, and it can be solved through political means.

As a researcher dealing with security policy and defense matters, Tibor Koszegvari thinks that neither the army nor the border police or the population are prepared for most of the new forms of danger. In the crisis zone in which Hungary functions as a sovereign country, we need an official force trained for defense, a force capable of averting attackers. Asked whether the Hungarian Army is capable of this, Tibor Koszegvari said that in its current state, the Hungarian Army would not be able to counter a large-scale attack. The Hungarian Army could avert a smaller local attack. Fortunately, a large-scale attack is only a theoretical possibility because the neighboring countries are busy with their own problems.

If I wanted to sound cynical, I would say that the military threat is constantly diminishing in the south because the armed forces are destroying each other. If a large-scale attack took place nevertheless, the West would not abandon us, even if only for their own selfish interests. They would be forced to help us because such an aggression would also affect them directly. In connection with this, NATO politicians and soldiers have made promising declarations; moreover, one U.S. general said that they would not abandon Hungary.

Drzycimski on National Minorities State Policy

WS1012134292 Warsaw SERWIS INFORMACYJNY in Polish 2330 GMT 7 Dec 92

[Statement by Andrzej Drzycimski, spokesman for Lech Walesa, president of the Republic of Poland, issued in Warsaw on 7 December]

[Text] In connection with the many disturbing statements and activities of Polish citizens who are a part of the German minority in Silesia, Lech Walesa, the president of the Republic of Poland, has recently spoken on this subject more than once. In his statements the president drew attention to the fact that the free, democratic, and sovereign Poland, is a state that respects international standards and agreements and particularly the CSCE process. Poland is a country in which the binding laws must be observed by all citizens. This also pertains to national minorities. All activities that destroy the foundations of coexistence in the commonwealth, that are a manifestation of national chauvinism, that contradict Polish law, international agreements and standards do not serve the purpose of creating the European commonwealth. Such activities will be prevented and its perpetrators will bear full responsibility under the law. The past cannot stop the way to the future that we are creating together.

We cannot tolerate any attempts to create a negative atmosphere, aversion, or even enmity, acts of circumventing the norms of social coexistence, and acts of inciting national quarrels for parochial reasons. Enough arguments and dangerous feelings of resentment that may disturb the process of creating a new Europe. The president appeals to representatives of state and local administration for a determined execution and observance of the Polish law. No one can be outside and above the law.

In the name of new relations between Poland and Germany, based on peaceful cooperation, partnership, and parity—of which Richard Von Weizsaecker, president of the Federal Republic of Germany, and Chancellor Helmut Kohl have so often spoken—we will not allow irresponsible activities on the part of those forces that seek to disturb this process. We will not allow the demons of the past to destroy the future that we are building together. Poland, along with the Polish Silesia, wants to be in Europe, in which Germany already is. The borders have been finally decided, and the leaders of the Federal Republic of Germany have often confirmed it. Those who would like to undermine their validity will also be undermining the European peace.

In Poland, national minorities, including the Germans, are guaranteed full participation in political and public life, they have their rights and their parliamentary representation. Circumventing the norms of social coexistence serves neither the cause of Poland, nor the cause of the minority, nor the European cause. Poland and all democratic countries, in the name of a common future, cannot be indifferent toward attempts to reverse history. [Signed] Andrzej Drzycimski, Warsaw, December 7, 1992.

Government Adopts Privatization Program

LD1012173892 Warsaw PAP in English 2133 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 9—The Council of Ministers on Wednesday [9 December] adopted a document titled "the basic directions of privatization in 1993," developed by the Ministry of Privatization and recommended by the government's Economic Council Kerm. The document will be submitted to the parliament together with the budget bill for 1993.

The "directions" discuss the objectives and conditions of privatization, as well as methods for its implementation, among them commercialization of state-owned enterprises, capital privatization, privatization through liquidation and liquidation of state-owned enterprises, reprivatization, etc.

Privatization, one of the priorities declared by the government of Hanna Suchocka, is expected to inject 8.8 trillion zlotys (550 million U.S. dollars) into the central budget.

According to the document, the period 1993-94 will be a period of enhanced commercialization of state-owned enterprises which should come easier with the adopted law on financial restructuring of enterprises and with the enterprise pact signed between the government and trade unions.

Reprivatization to be carried out under the programme will lead to reparation of wrongs done to owners by communist authorities which nationalized their property in the years 1944-60. It will also be an important component of the protection of the right for private ownership, which is a basic law in a democratic state.

Reprivatization will commence after the parliament adopts a law on mass privatization and national investment funds.

Nastase Appointment as Ambassador Questioned

AU1012214792 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 5-6 Dec 92 p 1

[A.M. Press note: "The President Is Appointing Ambassadors"]

[Text] Through a decree of President Ion Iliescu, Messrs. Adrian Nastase and Ionel V. Sandulescu were granted the diplomatic status of ambassador in the central department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. According to experts, the appointments have been carried out in accordance with Article 94, Paragraph C of Romania's Constitution, which stipulates that the head of state appoints people to public functions. However, the same experts are convinced that on the basis of Article 68, Paragraph 1 of Romania's Constitution, Mr. Adrian Nastase's position as deputy in the Romanian Assembly of Deputies does not permit him to undertake any public function of authority, except for being a member of the government.

Vacaroiu, Employers' Association Members on Reform

AU1012201892 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1839 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 10/12/1992—Thursday, 10 December, Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu received at the Victoria Palace in Bucharest the representatives of the National Confederation of the Romanian Employers Association. During the meeting, the prime minister emphasized the special role employers are expected to play for keeping the reform going and restructuring the economy. "If we unite our forces, we shall be able to successfully overcome this period, which is none so easy for the whole country," he said.

He further described his cabinet's main objectives and lines of action and invited Romanian employers to join the team of experts called to outline the medium- and long-term strategy, the programme for the restructuring of the Romanian economy.

Minister Spiroiu Discusses Army Policy

AU1012190992 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 7 Dec 92 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Defense Minister Lieutenant General Niculae Spiroiu by Andrei Badin and Bogdan Costea; place and date not given: "There Is No Hungarian Danger. This Danger Is Circulated Out of Wish To Gain Political and Electoral Capital"]

[Text] [ROMANIA LIBERA] Mr. Niculae Spiroiu, you are one of the few ministers who "caught"—if we may say so—three successive governments, namely the Roman, Stolojan, and Vacaroiu governments, which are very different as far as political options are concerned. What is your secret?

[Spiroiu] My secret? I believe that first of all it is a confirmation of the fact that we did what we had to do. Although I ended up in the Roman government as a result of a reshuffling, that measure took even me by surprise. I am not a relative of Mr. Roman's, and I am not his man, as it was hinted. I ended up—so to speak—in that government upon the recommendation of the former Defense Minister Mr. Stanculescu, and I also received the approval of the state bodies. Likewise, I believe that the approval of the entire corps of cadres in the Ministry of National Defense, of those who became executives in this ministry in 1990 was greatly appreciated. The second reason of this continuity, I believe, was the political equidistance that I promote, and I want to say that, from my point of view, I acted vehemently when this position was not respected. I have always tried to preserve a political equidistance.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Mr. Minister, are you in favor of an apolitical army?

[Spiroiu] I personally do not share the idea of an apolitical army. I believe that it is an expression that is not suitable to an army. We are not a "silent ocean" as was said before. Thus, I view the political quality of an army through equidistance, that is, to receive an equal treatment from all political forces, not to allow any military organization in any of the political structures that are involved in the struggle for power, and certainly, to firmly reject any interference of political parties. We have treated all of them equally. We have not allowed our military men to get involved in the political struggle. Likewise, during the September 1991 conflicts, the Army proved that it observes the established statute. I believe that these are elements that grant stability and credibility to the Defense Ministry and led to my being supported both by those in power and the opposition.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] At the beginning of 1990, there were very many promotions given to those with exceptional rank. Was that a wise measure?

[Spiroiu] That measure had an extremely harmful effect that could have resulted in the destabilization of the Army. One of the measures that the current leadership of the Ministry of National Defense and I personally have taken was meant to stabilize the military body and halt that wave of promotions. In my view, General Militaru (he was minister of national defense when those promotions took place—editor's note) made elementary mistakes. There are countries where promotion to an exceptional rank does not even exists. As far as I know, in the U.S. Army, promotions to an exceptional rank are approved by the Congress. The team of generals and officers who had been in reserve for a long time, then came very quickly to place themselves at the leadership of the military body, which led to hurt feelings among the entire corps of cadres in the Army. That was a mistake, and it hurt the feelings of the corps of cadres that were bearing the brunt of the struggle while others considered themselves dissidents. Their attitude is pathetic, saying that they were part of the anti-Ceausescu

resistance group of the Army because this claim does not have any real ground, and we all know it very well. What hurt the most was the impression created that these promotions will bring sympathy. Well, no. They brought about destabilization, and I can say that one of the successes of the ministry that I head was that we managed to stop this wave of promotions. This year the number of promotions was below 1 percent, as is normal.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] A few days ago, General Cioflina was in Budapest. After his visit, a newspaper published an article headlined: "The Military Relations Between Romania and Hungary Are Better Than Political Relations." However, at the same time, certain left-wing circles are talking about a great Hungarian danger, including a military danger. What can you say about these things?

[Spiroiu] I believe that our relations with the Hungarian Army are of a nature that would discourage those political attempts of certain nationalistic circles that are operating on both sides, and that if they were also encouraged on a military level, could lead to a situation of conflict. We believed that this political situation can be very well discouraged though very good relations of confidence between the military men. As long as military men, from the minister and down to the soldier, know each other, participate together in actions, come to train with us on Transylvania's territory and we go to them, we trust each other.... Therefore, we did not hesitate to sign the "open skies" accord. All these things are capable of discouraging extremist tendencies, which unfortunately, we must admit, were initiated by the Hungarian diaspora that tried to project a distorted image of Romania. During a discussion that I held last month with my Hungarian counterpart Mr. Lajos Fur, we talked precisely this decision to discourage extremist and nationalist actions that aim at inciting the two countries one against the other. I wish political relations would follow military relations.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Thus can we understand from your words that there is no danger of a military invasion as it is mentioned in certain magazines?

[Spiroiu] I believe that there is no danger. This danger is, so to say, circulated out of wish to gain political, electoral, and other type of capital. Since we, military men, do not want to end up with any political function, we do not have any interest to maneuver the military corps of the Romanian Army toward such goals. From what General Cioflina reported to me, the Hungarian soldiers are greatly open to the Romanian soldiers, and this proves trust. Trust is essential. Therefore, I once again state that there is no danger whatsoever.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Another idea launched by certain magazines is a possibility that the Army takes over the power in state. Do you believe that this might be a solution?

[Spiroiu] This idea cannot be regarded even as a hypothesis. There is not one single Romanian military man who would have such aspirations. The Romanian military men are not adventurers. We realize how much evil we can produce for our country, the democratization process, and in practical terms, we would push Romania back on the road that it has already traveled in the democratic process. This would mean that we wanted what is bad for our country, which we are serving and defending with devotion. Maybe there were such ideas in the Army, in the head of a certain general, but now he is in reserve. I am talking about General Culda. However, there was no conflict with him. Those titles in the EVENIMENTUL ZILEI were phantasmagoria...the "War of Generals"...such a thing cannot happen in the Army. In the Army, each person stays on a certain level according to hierarchy, and there cannot be a war. It is clear that the one who makes a mistake will disappear, not physically but from the hierarchy. His declarations were interpreted as a political action, but General Culda did not have supporters in the Army.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] What influence did the dismantling of the Warsaw Pact have on the Romanian Army?

[Spiroiu] We no longer needed to lean on that pact. It was opposing NATO, and it was mostly defending us not from NATO, but from those inside the Pact. This is a paradoxical situation, but it was true. We, for almost 20 years, have given up the camp doctrine. Romania has had its own national doctrine, based on the military tradition that existed between the two world wars. For 30 years we have not trained any officer outside the borders of our country; I am talking about Moscow. Thus, since we were not training our people in the former USSR, we did not have a camp doctrine; since 1968 we have not received any equipment, only with minor exceptions, and we were forced to build up a defense industry, which as early as 1980, has ensured over 90 percent of the necessary technological equipment for our Army. Returning to the issue, one cannot talk about relying on the Warsaw Pact. Moreover, I can tell you that we have manufactured more than 7,000 armored vehicles for the USSR, Germany, and maybe Hungary as well.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Recently, the trade union of a military equipment manufacturing enterprise in Zarnesti issued a communique in which the alarm was sounded in connection with the arms industry, which, according to it, is in a crisis. There is even talk about plans to fire a large number of employees who are working in this sector....

[Spiroiu] I held talks with two of the trade union federations. I want to tell you that there is some real ground for such assertions, but what these trade unions are doing now is nothing but applying pressure to obtain the privileges that they have had so far. I am talking about privileged conditions as far as technical unemployment benefits are concerned. It is certain that between commercial companies that manufacture equipment for the defense industry, only about 30-40 percent are manufacturing exclusively for the defense industry. The rest are sectors that work for other areas and that want to profit

from the military industry to receive equal treatment. No doubt, there are also real grounds for such assertions.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Is the National Defense Ministry taking any actions to try to clarify the 1989 December mystery?

[Spiroiu] There is a commission within the Defense Ministry that will issue a White Charter. Thus, things will be clarified. The Romanian Army was not informed about and did not know what was going on, just like the whole country. First it was not informed, thus it was easy to mislead it. An impression was created that it was an external action, an armed attack against Romania, and that war was breaking out. On 17 December 1989, I personally heard from my superior that there was a war against our country. It was natural that certain orders were issued to the effect of increasing the Army's combat capacity. When the Army realized what it was all about, it let the revolutionary forces act by themselves, and after the revolutionary forces succeeded in eliminating the dictatorship, the Army immediately sided with the revolution and stopped the creation of certain situations that might have led to a request for foreign help. The Army embarked on this mission to defend the revolution. I do not want to say that under the informational and psychological war and pressure upon the Army, tragedies, such as the one in Otopeni, could not have occurred. On 23 December 1989 in the morning, when on television Mr. Brates was saying that three trucks full of terrorists were coming to free the runway because the dictator wants to take off from there, certainly some mishaps happened. However, one cannot blame the Army. This would be a great mistake.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Do you believe that a state military coup, organized by the conservative forces, can happen in Moscow?

[Spiroiu] To tell you the truth, we, the Ministry of National Defense, do not examine such situations; the appropriate bodies of our country carry out such examinations. Therefore, I cannot answer you on this subject, especially since I have not met with Mr. Grachev, the defense minister of the Russian Federation, for quite a long time. I could not give you a direct answer.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] But what about your personal opinion....

[Spiroiu] I personally, knowing the Russian ministers, believe that if it depends on them, it cannot happen. However, I might be mistaken on this issue. This would be very bad for Romania.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Do you believe that Mr. Grachev is indeed leading the Russian Army?

[Spiroiu] I do not want to make declarations that are not in the area of the Defense Ministry. It would be better if you asked him to grant you an interview.

'Iron Guard-Oriented' Party Reportedly Formed

AU1012184792 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 1 Dec 92 p 2

[Article by Corneliu Antim: "After the Rampage of the Orthodox Communist Forces, an Iron Guard-Oriented Party Emerges]

[Text] The party was officially founded half a year ago by handing in a request provided with a 10-lei deed stamp, opening a bank account worth 10,000 lei, formally announcing the address of its headquarters, and presenting a list of 268 members. That is how it happened, and today we are invited by Mr. Serban Suru, the leader of the New Christian Romania Party, to attend a kind of a compensatory requiem dedicated to the memory of [former leader of the Iron Guard, a Romanian fascist organization before and during World War II] "Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, a true Christian serving his nation."

As far as we know, this has been the second remarkable public appearance of the mentioned political grouping, but it was certainly the first time that they have rented a central hall—the halls of the Bucharest Municipal Museum of History and Arts—in a building that belongs to the Bucharest Mayoralty and to the Ministry of Culture for three whole hours. It was the first time that the party openly stated its beliefs: "We welcome all people who share the ideas of the Iron Guard...." Both the goals of that party and on whom it is based would have become clear to us if we had only found a gathering of old nostalgic veterans. However, the age group the party leaders and a large part of the audience belonged to seemed to be that of the fans of Michael Jackson or that of the "blue-eyed boys" [reference to young Securitate officers], rather than that of "the Captain" [Corneliu Zelea Codreanu]. That party, which seems to promote nationalistic and Christian values, but expanding them to mysticism ("Codreanu is not only a national hero, one of the Iron Guard veterans proclaimed, he is a saint who deserves canonization!"), tries to institute values that have long ago been rejected by mankind as leading to disasters. That is why we consider the decision of the Bucharest Municipal Court allowing the formation of that party to be not only premature, but also contradicting the Constitution, because the declared—and lately also manifest—ideology of that party defies the ban imposed on the rebirth of extremist nationalistic feelings, even if that is done under the veil of religious ardor or puritanical nostalgia. Shadows that imposed so painfully on the destiny of several generations between the two world wars, are now reappearing clad in different clothes, grasping again the steering wheel of their once wrecked ship, relying on young and brave captains and a crew, among which we think we have spotted some of the merciless lieutenants of the Pro Romania Movement.

Paunescu Will Not Join Romania Mare Party

AU1012201292 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 3 Dec 92 p 3

[Article by Ralu Filip: "Adrian Paunescu Will Not Join the Romania Mare Party"]

[Text] In connection with recent press rumors about a possible move by poet Adrian Paunescu from the PSM [Socialist Labor Party] to the Romania Mare Party [PRM], Senator Paunescu told us the following: "This is one of the many irresponsible attacks against my dignity and person by the publications of Mr. (Ion) Cristoiu [director of EVENIMENTUL ZILEI]. Of course, this rumor that he has started has never been a subject of discussion by either the PSM leadership, me, or the PRM leadership. It is simply a fabrication. I do not belong to the PSM. I did not have any conflict with the PSM. Of late, my only contacts with the PSM have been with Mr. Tudor Mohora, leader of the parliamentary group [of the National Bloc] in the Assembly of Deputies, a man whom I hold in high esteem and who, in turn, has shown high regard for me. I have good, colleague-type relations with Corneliu Vadim Tudor [PRM leader]. Nevertheless, I do not intend to join any party, for the time being at least, until a socialist-liberal party comes into being, a party that could best reflect my trust into a convergence of the system with the permanent struggle between one's duty for the many and the trust in values."

Print Workers End Strike, Newpapers Resume

AU1012201792 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1833 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 10/12/1992—Representatives of the Printers' Union of Romania stated to a ROMPRES reporter Thursday, December 10, that printing workers would resume work so as dailies and other publications could come out Friday, 11 December. The action of protest launched by "Coresi" Printing Works had been joined by "Luceafarul" and "Universul." The private printing works, which are not affiliated to their union continued working, but all the union's branches across the country sided with their colleagues in Bucharest.

We mention again that the interview the prime minister and the cabinet member had with printers' representatives who tried to specifically solve their claims ended in the agreement that another meeting should be held on December 14.

To make a decision on their future actions, the Printers' Union of Romania called its National Council on December 13. The meeting will take place after the commemorative plaque is to be reset nearby the Telephones Palace in the capital city, where in 1918 printing workers from among demonstrators were shot.

Sarajevo Radio Reports Quiet in Capital

AU1112111692

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0900 GMT on 11 December, within its regular 12-minute newscast, carries several reports on fighting in the republic.

A report from the Information Center of the Gradacac Commune War Presidency says that "last night on the Gradacac battlefield passed with occasional chetnik artillery attacks. At the eastern section of the front the defense line was attacked with 82mm mortars. The suburban districts of (?Pozarike), Lukavac, and Bagdale were exposed to long-range artillery fire from (?Misici). New vehicle movement was observed in Posavina during the night. About 150 trucks from Milosevac arrived in the region of Gajevi and Slatina via Crkvina. The column included about 30 armored transporters and combat vehicles. At the same time, 10 helicopters flew along the line between Duge Njive, Skugrici, and [name indistinct], transporting material-technical equipment and personnel.

"In Gradacac this morning there have been infantry and mortar attacks at Pozarike and tanks have been operating from Vis against Mionica."

A report by Hamid Deronjic and Nihad Salilhodzic from the Brcko Commune Press Center says that "after the failure of the attempt by Serbo-chetnik tank and infantry forces to break through the Brcko defense lines at Dizdarusa and Licki Most yesterday, Serbian chetniks tried to improve the morale of their defeated fighters by demonstrating the combat power of their artillery and armored-mechanized units. Chetniks pounded our positions at Licki Most, Omerbegovaca, and Dizdarusa with tanks, praga [a type of antiaircraft gun], and [word indistinct] from (?Caljavac). Some 155mm caliber shells fell on this section of the Brcko defense from the enemy howitzer stronghold at Potocari. At the same time, the enemy launched 20 projectiles from a multiple rocket launcher at [name indistinct] and Dizdarusa. Sixty 82mm mortar bombs fell on [name indistinct] and 50 artillery shells showered the region of Donji (?Novik) and Gornji (?Novik). A chetnik tank from Grbavica pounded Lipovac and Brod and 60mm and 82mm caliber mortar bombs fell on these positions of the 108th Brcko Brigade from the same direction. Chetnik (?155 mm caliber) [howitzers] were in action against the region of Bosanska Bijela and Dubrave." The report says that all this lasted until 2200, "but there were no losses among our ranks and the Brcko defense lines stood fast."

In his report from Maglaj, Hajrudin Cermic says that "battles with infantry weapons and chetnik activity from (?T-55) tanks, Zolja portable rocket launchers, antiaircraft machine guns, and antiaircraft guns against our defenders' positions were registered on Maglaj battlefields last night." Finally, Cermic says that "the defenders yesterday silenced the tenth chetnik tank in a row that until then had sowed death from (?Crvenike)."

In his report from Sarajevo, Irfan Calo says that "this morning is calm in the region of Stari Grad and Centar with occasional chetnik provocations with infantry weapons. According to reports by public security stations in these regions, there was no shelling in the morning hours. The Novo Sarajevo public security station warns citizens to be careful because of increased activity by enemy snipers, particularly in Zivko (?Josulo) and Darovalaca Krvi streets. In the early morning hours, to be more precise, shortly after 0600, the center and general region of Novi Grad Commune were exposed to occasional shelling, but this has also subsided at the moment."

Sarajevo 'Peaceful,' Airport Expected to Reopen

LD1112105092 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Excerpt] Sarajevo is peaceful this morning following a night through which only sporadic shooting was heard. Sporadic shooting can be heard also this morning in Ilidza and Dobrinja. Citizens of Sarajevo hope that power, which the city has had to do without since Monday [7 December], will eventually be restored. The water supply improved this morning, but telephone communications are still inoperative.

Sarajevo airport is expected to be reopened, which will allow in humanitarian aid to a town which is on the brink of famine. [passage omitted]

'Muslim Ustashas' Allegedly Preparing Offensive

AU1012163492

[Editorial Report] Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1400 GMT on 10 December carries several reports on fighting in Bosnia-Hercegovina on 9 and 10 December.

SARAJEVO—Sarajevo correspondent Risto Djogo reports: "After heavy overnight fighting, in which Muslim forces suffered total defeat in their offensive against Serbian positions in Rajlovac and Vogosca, the day is being marked by sporadic fire from infantry weapons only." Djogo adds: "Late last night, Muslim forces used all available means to move against these positions. The army of the Serbian republic responded fiercely, retaining a firm grip on position 850, which the Muslim media reports as under their control."

BIHAC—Bihac correspondent Milan Pantovic reports: "Artillery and mortar attacks on Serbian villages and snow make up the picture of the Bihac front today."

FOCA—Foca correspondent Drago Todorovic reports: "Muslim units again last night convinced the Serbian defenders that peace will be a long time coming in the upper Drina region. The heaviest shelling was registered near Trnovo, Kalinovik, and Foca. The Muslim Ustashas are regrouping their forces from Mt. Igman toward Crna Rijeka and (?Grebak), intending to launch a stronger offensive on Foca. Proof of that lies in the fact

that last night the Serbian commune of Kalinovik was ruthlessly shelled from the saddle of Rogoj, where the Islamic fanatics have been dug in since 30 July."

Muslims Reportedly Launch Attack on Zuc Hill

LD1012214892 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2111 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Dec (TANJUG)—Fierce infantry hand to hand combat is in progress on Zuc Hill, between Vogosca (Serb-held municipality north of Sarajevo) and Rajlovac (Serb-held area in western part of Sarajevo), SRNA reports, citing military sources. Hand to hand fighting started early this evening.

SRNA reports that members of Vogosca and Rajlovac Brigade of the Serb Republic's Army are resisting the Muslim forces' attacks.

Muslim forces from Hum, Pofalici, and Boljakov Potok launched their attack in the early afternoon, using artillery and infantry weapons against Serb positions on Zuc Hill, north of Sarajevo city center.

SRNA reports that the Serb forces repelled a strong Muslim infantry attack in Ilijas area (Serb-held municipality north of Sarajevo).

Food, Water 'Critical'; Sarajevo Airport Closed

AU1012184892 Paris AFP in English 1823 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, Dec 10 (AFP)—The United Nations was set to reopen Sarajevo airport Thursday [10 December], but snow falls delayed this, in a reminder of harsh winter conditions to come for the people of the besieged Bosnia-Hercegovina capital.

Bad weather forced the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) to postpone a flight from Zagreb that was to land in Sarajevo mid-afternoon.

The airport, which is guarded by U.N. troops, has been closed since December 1 due to fighting, which at one point saw Serbian tanks using the airport road to fire at a western Sarajevo suburb.

The airport is the key to a humanitarian aid effort to prevent starvation and the freezing to death of the 380,000 population of Sarajevo, as well as other Bosnian cities where Croats and Slav Moslems are besieged by Serbs. [passage omitted]

The situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina was at the same time relatively calm Thursday, with low-level fighting that nevetherless still threatened to erupt and escalate anew. A British U.N. patrol was shot at but sustained no injuries near the central Bosnian town of Turbe, U.N. spokesman Spanish Major Juan Villalon said Thursday. The incident took place Wednesday afternoon. Turbe is near Travnik, a mainly Moslem Slav town 100 kilometres (62 miles) northwest of Sarajevo besieged by the separatist Serbs.

Humanitarian aid convoys were running without problem to Sarajevo, and a convoy reached the eastern town of Srebrenica, where U.N. convoys only broke a months-long siege in November. But the situation remained critical in Sarajevo with only one day's supply of drinking water left for lack of chlorine gas to purify it. U.N. officials said the gas was on its way but shipment was difficult through a war zone.

The main bakery too was only producing enough for refugee centers and Sarajevo hospitals, its director Husein Ahmovic told AFP.

Boban Accuses World of 'Indifference'

AU0912161292 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Dec Europe Edition 92 p 4

[Report by Dz. Kolukcija on Radio Mostar interview with Mate Boban, president of the Croatian Democratic Community of Herceg-Bosnia; place and date not given: "The Powerful Play Games"]

[Text] Mostar—"If an agreement on the internal structure of Bosnia-Hercegovina is not reached in Geneva soon, some unforeseeable consequences will follow, because the war and clashes will continue with full force, and the danger of Bosnia-Hercegovina losing that little legality and international recognition that remains becomes more probable. Therefore, dodging the Geneva negotiations is not understandable." This was stated by Mate Boban, president of the Croatian Democratic Community of Bosnia-Hercegovina and president of Croatian Community Herceg-Bosnia, in his interview with Radio Croatian Community Herceg-Bosnia, Radio Mostar Station. Discussing the international attitude toward the aggression in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Boban said that the most responsible international entities are concealing their inability and indifference toward the Serbian army's crimes against Muslims and Croats. "The powerful must be playing some games," Boban said, "because the human mind cannot comprehend such an attitude of international entities toward this war. They act as if the crimes, the genocide, and the ethnic cleansing were happening on some other planet, as if these misdeeds were happening not to people, but to some unknown beings, and as if in Bosnia-Hercegovina criminals and victims were the same." According to Boban, such behavior by the most responsible countries and international organizations is all the more strange since they know very well that tolerating Serbian crimes and the aggression in the heart of Europe means tolerating great human misfortune that is going to happen in all of Europe.

Mate Boban confirmed in his interview that during the recent successful counteroffensive of the defense forces at the Mostar and Stolac front, some Serbian officers and UNPROFOR's [UN Protection Forces] high commissioners had called him up in a panic, because the defense forces had severely undermined the aggressor's defense system. "I did not want to talk to Serbs, and I reproached

the UNPROFOR's commissioners for their concern for Nevesinje only, and not for Bosanski Brod, Jajce and a lot of other towns in Bosnia-Hercegovina, which are shelled and occupied by chetniks," Boban said and added that the representatives of the Croatian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina did not talk with criminals such as Karadzic directly, but only indirectly, with Vance and Owen as go-betweens, thereby wishing only for the war to stop and some peaceful solution to be found. Regarding the internal structure of Bosnia and Hercegovina, Boban repeated that the political goals and demands of Croats were equal to the other two nationalities in Bosnia-Hercegovina, regardless of their size, while within Bosnia-Hercegovina every group must have its own space in which the legal authority would be established proportionally, according to the principle of national representation.

Discussing relations with Muslims, Boban maintained that the regulation of these did not depend on Croats, who, as he said, did everything they should. We are determined to find a solution to all the common problems in the interest of our living together and our fighting for freedom, Boban said. At the end, Boban announced that soon, all citizens of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosnia will be able to receive Croatian citizenship.

HVO Announces Measures for Herceg-Bosnia

AU1012152092 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] Journalists in Mostar were today handed a statement issued at a session of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] and the so-called Croatian community of Herceg-Bosnia in which several regulations, decisions, and conclusions were adopted. These cover the organization of the temporary executive power, regulate certain citizens' rights, and regulate relations in the fields of the economy and activities of general interest.

So, one of the regulations adopted is the regulation on labor relations in the so-called Croatian community of Herceg-Bosnia in time of war or imminent war danger. Termination of employment is regulated in a special way. The old provisions contained in the republican regulations have been supplemented by a new regulation, which stipulates that those who are found to have been or to be working with the occupier will have their employment terminated. Provisions concerning elementary and secondary schooling have also been adopted.

Does one need proof of how a state within a state is regulated with a summary procedure? We will see how far this will go.

Silajdzic Says Serbs Raped up to 30,000 Women

AU1012170492 Paris AFP in English 1623 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] Geneva, Dec 10 (AFP)—Up to 30,000 women and girls as young as seven have been raped by Bosnian Serbs, said Bosnia-Hercegovina's foreign minister who urged "immediate military intervention" by the West to stop such war crimes. Haris Silajdzic spoke in Geneva Thursday [10 December], saying that Serbian aggression had already left 128,000 dead in Bosnia-Hercegovina, as "evidence is mounting of an immense genocide" there.

"Even if there was an intervention tomorrow it couldn't erase the shame" of events that have ripped apart the former Yugoslav republic. The minister spoke after a 55-page report on "war crimes" in Bosnia-Hercegovina was issued detailing sexual crimes committed by Serbian nationalists, who oppose the republic's independence. It quoted witnesses who described in gruesome detail how women in Serbian camps were repeatedly raped, often in front of family members. "In Bosnia there are rape camps," said the minister. "Between 14,000 and 30,000 women and girls seven to 18 years old were raped."

Two camps named in the report were a women's camp in Sckovici [name as received] and one in the Sonje motel in Vogosca. The minister said rape victims were often mutilated or killed. "Many are kept for months until the pregnancy goes too far" for an abortion, he said.

Demonstrations against such rapes were held in Switzerland Thursday, including one in Bern where women marched in mourning clothes. Silajdzic said "this is an organized crime against humanity, this only merits an intervention by all countries in the world. You are dealing with people who understand naked force," he stressed.

He said he hoped the European Community summit this weekend in Edinburgh would propose "action, direct military intervention" and an end to the arms embargo, which he said was hitting the victims more than the aggressors. Silajdzic said he still had confidence in Yugoslav peace conference cochairman Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen. But he felt they did not have enough backing from the international community and that the peace talks in Geneva were becoming "increasingly irrelevant because of the situation on the ground."

He also suggested that radical movements in Europe, such as neo-Nazi attacks against foreigners in Germany, were encouraged by the fact that they saw "criminals, state terrorism" getting away with crimes in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Organizations List Mass Rapes, Other Atrocities

AU1012172692 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 9 Dec 92 p 7

[Report by Guenter Bannas: "Names of 500 War Criminals Known"]

[Text] Bonn, 8 December—Rupert Neudeck, spokesman of the private charity organization Committee Cap-Anamur, witnessed the maltreatment and rape of women by soldiers in two wars. In the spring of 1945, he fled from Gdansk to Berlin and Dresden—as a six-year-old

boy with his mother, sister, aunt, and grandmother. As a journalist, he now sees the "traces of massacres and rapes" in Bosnia, Hercegovina, Kosovo, and Vojvodina. Reporting to a Bundestag committee for women and youth, he carefully explained the difference. "The Russians raped the wives of German soldiers out of lust and revenge, and maltreated them dreadfully. The Serbian White Eagles or militiamen like Borislav Herak rape and kill women, and force them to conceive their children to humiliate them, because the 'chetnik babies' in the wombs of Muslim women represent a time bomb for the Bosnian society."

Neudeck stated that he knew the names of more than 10 camps. "I constantly learn about new ones, primitive brothels." He mentioned places near Vukovar. Actually, this area is supposed to be controlled by the United Nations. The rumor persists there that UN soldiers "themselves are involved in the abuse of Muslim women in this brothel with over 200 women."

The Bundestag committee had received a report from the Executive Committee of the Islamic Community of Bosnia-Hercegovina. It lists a great number of villages and concentration camps in which women are constantly raped and maltreated in other ways. Girls who are under 14 are taken there. Among others, the positions of the chetniks in Brcko, Bijeljina, Zvornik, Vlasenica, Han Piejesak, and Pale were mentioned. "The rapes were so horrible and cruel that some of the women became mad or have suffered lasting physical and psychological damage." In addition, cases of trade in people are known.

The report describes brutal details. "The Muslim women who put up resistance and tried to defend their honor were beaten until they lost consciousness. They received cuts in various parts of the body, crosses were cut into their skin, and their breasts were also cut. According to another piece of information that we received, 10 chetniks raped a girl in a brutish way, and finally massacred and killed her." Many Muslim women In the concentration camps have to work on farms during the day. "In the night they are raped. They sleep in barns, stables, or basements on the naked floor, without being given food and water or other basic things they need for survival."

In the Sarajevo region, Muslim women were subject to particular atrocities. In a coffee shop they were abused and even offered to members of the peace mission. "Among the miserable women were girls who were not even 10 years old. They were cruelly maltreated by the criminals." The report continues: "In one case that occurred in a village in Vogosca, five criminals held the father of a young girl while six criminals raped his daughter. After the crime was completed, the girl was dead. Another case is known where 20 Chetniks raped two girls aged seven and 13 years. This happened in front of their mother."

There have been reports about cases in which Serbian school children entered Muslim houses and abducted Muslim girls and women. A house on the Zuc mountain became a torture chamber for the girls. "During the operation to liberate the Zuc mountain, soldiers of the Bosnian Army discovered naked girls in some houses, and found the bodies of some beheaded and massacred women." In apartments and basements near Sarajevo airport, corpses were found. "The body of an eight-year-old girl who was raped before she was killed was also discovered. In addition, 40 people of different ages who had been killed, including raped women, were found in the above village."

The "Center for the Registration of War Crimes and Genocide," founded in May in Zenica in central Bosnia, is trying to document war crimes. Representatives of this organization, which has 450 voluntary workers in Bosnia, told this newspaper that 350,000 pieces of information on war crimes are stored in a data bank. The data prove that 500 Serbs are guilty of war crimes. According to internal regulations of the organization, a suspect is only considered a war criminal if his name was mentioned independently by five different eyewitnesses. The data bank lists another 4,000 suspects on whom further information has to be collected. According to the data, 17,000 people were killed outside the actual war zone in Bosnia. Over 100 mass graves have been located so far.

According to a report by the Society for Threatened Peoples, 60,000 women became victims of "systematic mass rapes ordered by the Army and the chetnik leadership" since April. The Muslim elite of villages is deliberately arrested—with the aim of ethnic cleansing. "In Prijedor district, for example, only about 3,000 of the 67,000 non-Serbian population stayed behind."

Commentator Assesses Objectives of Conference

AU1012165492 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Commentary by Zio Dizdarevic]

[Text] The presidents of Egypt and Turkey, Hosni Mubarak and Turgut Ozal respectively, agreed on a new meeting of the Organization of Islamic Conference if the Security Council does not act in line with its demands. In this way they emphasized the resoluteness of the association of 50 countries with a population of about one billion to prevail in ending the aggression against our country. What is also important is that both Egypt and Turkey have expressed their consent. Egypt stands for the leader of the moderate (?current), while Turkey insists on more muscular methods.

Prior to the meeting in Jeddah, Washington said that it welcomes all types of pressure on Belgrade and positively assessed the Balkan conference in Istanbul. This detail is important, as it is at variance with the mood of Great Britain and France. Paris and London are anxiously considering that the possible arrival of arms in Bosnia-Hercegovina from Islamic countries could establish these countries' political influence in this region.

In addition to Turkey, another European country has become a member of the Organization of Islamic Conference: Albania. Turkey is a very important ally of the United States, which holds Albania under its patronage, too. The White House is thus counting on the fact that it can discipline Ankara and Tirana at any time if they go over the top in pursuit of their foreign policy.

Therefore, one can say that Washington, via the Islamic countries and European countries that are not members of the EC, is exerting pressure on the key countries on the old continent. In this way, the White House is actually underlining the responsibility of the EC. Washington is still (?saying) that it should primarily be Europe which should deal with our problems, especially because the presidential takeover is in progress, and because the Americans are deeply militarily involved in Somalia.

As regards Bosnia-Hercegovina, and considering Clinton's pre-election speeches, it appears that the cheapest thing for Washington is to lift the arms embargo. Serious military involvement would only be considered with the full involvement of its European allies.

The European quarantine policy—which has attempted to halt the plague from Belgrade by isolating the victims, while the cause of the disease is still roaming free—has obviously failed. All the threads of this policy are in the hands of Great Britain and France. The question now is what other members of the EC can and want to do. The sober-minded Dutch (?advocate) specific military action.

The EC summit in Edinburgh and the new round of the London conference are taking place prior to the elections in Serbia and Montenegro. However, even if Prime Minister Milan Panic won the election, this would not mean that President Slobodan Milosevic would meekly withdraw. If Milosevic remains in office, we know what will happen.

Commentators consider Jeddah demands as an unexpected immense pressure on the West. This is not correct. The Islamic countries only said the following: Please respect the UN Charter and the decisions that you yourselves made. Therefore, they are not calling for anything more nor anything less than that.

Serb Official Rejects UN Warning on Attacks

AU1012162092 Paris AFP in English 1603 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] Sarajevo, Dec 10 (AFP)—A Bosnian Serb official in Sarajevo Thursday [10 December] rejected a U.N. warning against further Serb attacks.

"The war in Bosnia-Hercegovina is to a great extent the result of Security Council activities," Vladimir Lukic told AFP.

Lukic is the representative at United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) headquarters in Sarajevo for the self-proclaimed Serb republic of Bosnia.

He said he was speaking personally.

"I hope it's clear to everybody that the Serbs are not going to accept anyone's ultimatum," Lukic said.

The U.N. Security Council on Wednesday warned Serbian militia of possible new action against them unless they stopped attacks in Bosnia-Hercegovina. It did not spell out what measure it might take.

On Thursday, NATO ministers were meeting in Brussels to discuss military options in Bosnia-Hercegovina, where separatist Serbs have taken over 70 percent of the territory and are besieging the capital Sarajevo.

Lukic said he was "surprised" by the Security Council reaction to the flare-up in fighting over the past 10 days here "because everyone knows that over the last month the Moslems were preparing an offensive."

He said recent Serb shelling, which included the almost total destruction by tank fire of the western suburb of Otes, was a reaction to Moslem Slav attacks on them.

Serb forces Tuesday completely cut off access to Sarajevo in fighting that forced a U.N. French armored personnel carrier to abandon its post. U.N. forces are in Bosnia to guarantee the delivery of humanitarian aid but have been delayed and fired at by the warring sides in carrying out their mission.

Lukic said Serbs were thinking about the possibility of a U.N. military intervention "but for us as far as freedom and honor are concerned no (amount of Serb) sacrifices are too much."

French Admiral Favors Use of Force

AU1012194092 Paris AFP in English 1908 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] Paris, Dec 10 (AFP)—France appeared increasingly preoccupied Thursday, on the eve of the E.C. summit in Edinburgh, with the role of its forces under U.N. mandate in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Admiral Jacques Lanxade, the French Chief of General Staff, said Wednesday [9 December] that the mostly French U.N. forces in the former Yugoslav republic must either "use force or get out."

Defense Minister Pierre Joxe, saying U.N. troops there were in a "terrible situation," told reporters Thursday that it was "out of the question to consider a withdrawal" from Bosnia, but that it was "normal" to envisage "ripostes or retreats" in the face of increased fighting.

U.N. forces, Joxe explained, are "in a very hard situation in which they see... civilians, women and children

become victims of violence... and in which, for loftier reasons linked to the nature of their mission, they cannot riposte."

The unusually outspoken statement Wednesday by Lanxade, formerly President Francois Mitterrand's personal chief of staff, drew the comment from Presidential spokesman Jean Musitelli that the admiral was "speaking only for himself—at this stage."

It was not clear whether France planned to bring the matter up at the Edinburgh summit Friday and Saturday, which already promises to be one of the toughest in E.C. history.

But the highly publicized and—some French officials say—overmanned U.N. operation "Restore Hope" in Somalia has drawn attention to the relatively ineffectual role of the U.N. contingent in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Lanxade said the situation in Bosnia had "deteriorated" and that U.N. troops there were "in the same situation as Pakistani U.N. forces in Somalia two weeks ago who, isolated and with no freedom of movement, were forced to call for help."

"Shooting down armed Serbian helicopters" that violate the no-fly zone over Bosnia-Hercegovina would be a first step, Lanxade said, adding: "Bosnian territory must be isolated and surrounded to cut off the fighters' supply sources."

That, plus effective surveillance of Bosnian air space, can be achieved in "no more than two weeks" once U.N. "observers worthy of the name" are installed at "the 15 passages between Serbia and Bosnia," the admiral said.

Lanxade said that if North Atlantic Treaty Organization and Western European Union (WEU) forces in the area under U.N. aegis "want to have a chance of preventing (the spread of fighting) outside ex-Yugoslavia... we must very seriously enforce all U.N. sanctions and reinforce them."

Commenting on Lanxade's statement, Musitelli said he wondered whether the E.C., of which the WEU is the sole military arm, "has used to the full the possibilities... of military accompaniment to humanitarian missions" in Bosnia as decided at the Lisbon summit in June.

"Have we done all that was possible?" Musitelli said. "The question is worth asking."

The satiric weekly Le Canard Enchaine wrote Wednesday that discrepancies between the forces deployed in Somalia and in Bosnia-Hercegovina had created friction between Joxe and Health and Humanitarian Action Minister Bernard Kouchner—a champion of international intervention in trouble spots.

Joxe denied this, but said he was simply trying to "manage with care the resources of the French armed forces, which are not limitless."

France deployed 12,000 men in a single theater during the Gulf War, Joxe said, but now has 10,000 deployed in three different areas—ex-Yugoslavia, Somalia and Cambodia.

Furthermore, he said, "we had four times as many casualties in Yugoslavia than we did in the Gulf conflict."

French forces have so far had losses of nine dead and 80 wounded in Yugoslavia, Joxe said.

"It leads you to think," he said.

Serb Republic Sets Up Media System

LD1012200392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] Zvornik, 9 Dec (TANJUG)—The founding assembly of the radio network of the Serb Republic in [Bosnia-Hercegovina] was held in Zvornik today. The assembly marks the beginning of the realization of the idea of unification of the Serb Republic's information system, which will consist of radio stations, a television station, and a newspaper enterprise.

Serb Republic Information Minister Velibor Ostojic told the assembly that the information system "reflects on our state, and hence we have very little scope to make a mistake. So, we must set very high criteria for our work."

A total of 33 radio stations, which together with other Serb media are spreading truth about the struggle of the Serb people for freedom and its own state, are operating in the Serb Republic.

The assembly set in motion an initiative to create a unified radio and television network of all Serbian lands. The assembly participants were unanimous in their view that the future work of public information media of the Serb Republic must be highly professional and must respect national interests, the principles of morality, objectivity, and truthfulness.

The assembly expressed gratitude to all those who helped create the information system of the Serb Republic, and it singled out contributions made by Serbian Radio and Television and Yugoslav Radio.

Sexual Abuses of Serb Women in Tuzla Cited

93BA0292A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Nov 92 p 12

[Article by O. Popovic: "From Psychiatrist's Office: Unborn Children From Dark Tuzla Basements"]

[Text] *Women who do not want the children of their tormentors are arriving at the "Dr. Laza Lazarevic" Neuropsychiatric Hospital in advanced stages of pregnancy; sexually abused for five months, and released only when children are created.*

Over the past 10 days, depressed and unhappy women in advanced stages of pregnancy have been arriving from Tuzla at the "Dr. Laza Lazarevic" Neuropsychiatric Hospital in Belgrade with one request: that the doctors help them to get rid of a pregnancy that they do not want. They say that for five long months they were sexually abused.

"Although in recent months we have seen in our practice many people psychologically traumatized by the war, this is the first time that we have encountered such monstrous cases. According to our patients, who were imprisoned in some dark Tuzla basement, they were released only when a child was created that would be born Muslim, as their guards told them, and when, under the law, it was no longer possible to terminate the pregnancy," explains Prof. Dr. Slobodan Jakulic of "Dr. Laza Lazarevic" Hospital.

Did Not See the Faces of Their Assailants

The five or six women, who turned to the psychiatrists out of despair and dejection, but who are aware of what happened to them, are between 30 and 45 years old. All of them have children, husbands, and families. Their husbands are at the front, and they do not know where their families are.

The Golgotha that they have been through is hard to describe. They never saw the faces of their tormentors, and they say that they were subjected to sexual abuses three to five times a day, over a period of five months.

"They are psychologically agitated, exhibiting so-called anxiety syndrome, a syndrome of fear, but we have determined that they are not psychotic, but only in a reactive state (psychotrauma from the effects of external circumstances, which is neither permanent nor caused by genetic factors)," adds Prof. Jakulic.

None of the five or six women wanted to keep their children. The maternal instinct, which is said to be the strongest, has nevertheless yielded to hatred. When asked by doctors what she will do now after all of this, one women responded that she would return to Tuzla in order to get revenge on her tormentors.

When psychiatrists begin to describe in books *Yugoslav Post-Psychotraumatic War Syndrome*, these cases will be of value in explaining the horrors of war. It is interesting that according to Prof. Jakulic, our "Yugoslav" syndrome does not have many similarities with "Vietnam" syndrome.

"In Vietnam, there were professional soldiers, well-prepared for the horrors of war. In our case it is farmers who are fighting, but also intellectuals, who are often seeing dead people for the first time on the battlefield. The U.S. soldiers were fighting in an unfamiliar setting, while ours are fighting in their own backyard. The former were motivated by money or were drafted, while our fighters are guarding their home and hearth. The Americans were provided for materially, with regular supplies of food, drugs, and alcohol. Ours have alcohol, and thus we are seeing alcoholism on the rise," explains Dr. Jakulic, adding that women and children were not involved in the fighting in Vietnam. Thus, the clinical manifestations of psychological breakdown are completely different.

Long-Lasting Psychological Suffering

Our interlocutor notes that the experience of countries that have waged war and examined their fighters, for example in Vietnam and Iraq, but also here (although clear and exact data are not yet available), indicates that there are always many more who are wounded psychotraumatically than physically.

"Only after a certain amount of time has passed, when they sift through all that has happened to them and all that they have experienced, can an epidemic of psychological cases be expected. In this there is no difference between farmers and intellectuals. Fear places them on a par, and does not make that distinction," says Dr. Jakulic.

Although hundreds of people affected by war have passed through his department, Dr. Jakulic observes that thus far he has not examined a single one of Arkan's soldiers or a member of any other volunteer unit. This is an indication of their maximum level of motivation and confirms Dr. Jakulic's demand that we need a professional army.

The war has also erased the long-felt fear of being registered in psychiatric files. The largest number of people, Dr. Jakulic says, come to the psychiatrists at their own initiative, seeking help for their war-wrecked souls. Young soldiers who have experienced the war in regular units of the armed forces are most frequently brought in by their parents. Their young psyches are broken, most often by horrible scenes of massacre.

Even though three decades have passed since the Vietnam War, Americans are still dealing with their victims from that insane war. There are special hospitals for veterans, but time is clearly not erasing images of the "wolf's lairs" into which they were thrown with snakes or of games of "Russian roulette." How much time will be needed for our victims to forget the sickening scenes of rape, slaughter, nails being driven into the head, and people being skinned alive?

Karadzic, Izetbegovic Blamed for Sarajevo

93BA0289C Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21-22 Nov 22 p III

[Article by Zeljko Vukovic: "A Conflict of Bloody Trumps"]

[Text] Do you know what is really happening in Sarajevo, that largest death camp in the world? Unfortunately, you cannot even know. That truth, after all, does not suit anyone. In occupied and devastated Sarajevo,

the cruelest war is being waged against the public. Still more precisely—against the citizens of Sarajevo. They are being murdered by both Radovan's people and Alija's, each in their own way, but in a tacit alliance. Both sides are assuring the world that they are waging war against one another, but for a long time now that war has only been a bloody and tragic farce. Devastated Sarajevo without the prewar people of Sarajevo is a pool in which Radovan and Alija are fishing for their "goldfish." How is it possible that the murder of Sarajevo and the citizens of Sarajevo suits everyone? Reality is incorruptible, however much the propaganda-driven and subservient media try to conceal it.

When Sarajevo is left without a majority of its citizens, Radovan Karadzic can proclaim his victory—then it will no longer be possible to even talk about a life together, then the division of B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina] will be inevitable. The war strategy of the Serbian side in this regard, it has turned out, was effective. Sarajevo is hermetically sealed, and the seven-month devastation of the city and killing of the citizens have pursued only one objective—to make life together in Sarajevo impossible. Karadzic has never wanted to take all of Sarajevo. After all, had he done that, the Serbs, Muslims, and Croats would again have been together. Incidentally, the lines of the Sarajevo front are even now the same as they were in early April.

The victims of ethnic cleansing have been deported according to plan toward Sarajevo, whereby Karadzic has been guaranteeing a rapid demographic and indeed even social change of the composition of the population. Muslims have been arriving in the city, suffering only because they belong to a particular nationality, made miserable by their personal tragedies, emotional to the extent that they pass on their anger and revulsion to the "natives" of Sarajevo, above all, those of Serbian nationality. They have been accusing the Sarajevo Muslims of cowardice and passivity and the Serbs to boot for being a latent fifth column. Faced with these and similar pressures, aware that the present government is not able and will not be able to guarantee survival in a captive city, but unwilling to give their lives for a political project that is dubious, to say the least, the city-dwelling citizens of Sarajevo have begun in ever greater numbers to flee from the city and from B-H.

The tragedy of Sarajevo has been and still remains Izetbegovic's important trump. In the first phase, he was counting on the number of dead and homeless to bring about military intervention, and now removal of the embargo on the importation of weapons. This is understandable because the "Bosnian Army" has never made a very serious attempt to remove the blockade of Sarajevo. Three months ago, troops from Zenica and Tuzla set out for Sarajevo in order to remove the blockade of the city from outside. Just a few hours before the action, Izetbegovic issued the command—Pull back, everything is being postponed. In order to anticipate a possible revolt by the citizens of Sarajevo because of the ineffectiveness of his government—which under wartime conditions would necessarily bring about his removal—Izetbegovic joined Karadzic in a strategy of driving the people of Sarajevo "out of their minds." How? By tacitly legalizing chaos and crime, by taking civil insecurity to the level of "a natural state of affairs," thanks to coordination with the "keepers of order," the subservient propaganda has managed to identify devotion to Bosnia and Hercegovina with devotion to Izetbegovic. So, any criticism of the government has been treated as betrayal of the "youngest state in the world."

When the "newcomers" began to cool off, realizing that it is more important to occupy an apartment or a post in the military hierarchy than to die insanely and in vain on a false front, recruitment of "natives" followed. All "work duties" were abolished, and all males between the ages of 18 and 60 were ordered to immediately report to the nearest command. Someone has to die as a fighter, because the appearance of "waging war against the chetniks" has to be maintained. At the same time, Radovan grieves for the dead and homeless Serbs, and Alija the Muslims. The more dead there are in your own nationality—the more chances that in the end you will catch your own "goldfish" in the blood and desperation of the citizen of Sarajevo.

The participation of the Croatian side in this most horrifying crime is indirect, above all because of the small percentage of Sarajevo Croats, and it is mainly manifested in the encouragement of armed conflicts, in preventing the people of Sarajevo from leaving the city.... In this, the armed units of the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] are in one battle on the side of Karadzic and on the opposite side in another one.

As things now stand in late November, Karadzic is much closer to his objective. The government in Sarajevo, at both the city and republic levels, has become a government of the SDA [Democratic Action Party]. It is a mistake to refer to it as Muslim, just as much as it is a mistake to call the government of the SDS [Serbian Democratic Party] Serbian. That government—it is prescribing the provisions of the Constitution—is already illegitimate, and it cannot be the Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina. And especially not a government with a civil political platform.

That reality continues to be concealed by the distortion of the nature of the war in Sarajevo. Only when Sarajevo is utterly defeated in this war which we have mentioned, and which reason cannot understand, will the real beginning of the end of the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina be able to start. One thing is certain—there will be no victors, to whatever extent the inevitable division between Bosnians and Hercegovinians (indelibly imprinted in the mind) may be verified in the constitutional arrangement of the devastated state. That artifice of a state will be a still "darker vilayet," a place of constant unhappiness and apparent peace. Three institutionalized and regionalized ethnic fascisms will be kept alive by internal

repression and mutual conflicts. It makes no difference whether the smell in the air is that of Beirut or Belfast.

The consequences so far of the B-H war will encourage precisely that long-term epilogue. The Bosnian Muslims have already experienced a horrible exodus and suffering. The first to sit in the defendant's box, at least that of conscience, for that crime ought to be the authors of the Serbian Republic, after them the creators of the Croatian Herceg-Bosnia, and then the leaders of the SDA. The first because of the genocide against a people (the guilt of the SDS is much more drastic), and Izetbegovic's leadership—because when faced with the choice between his own power and his own people, he chose the power. That is, it has been clear from the beginning that in the ethnic insanity only an authentically civil B-H could be a salvation for the Muslims. Izetbegovic never really tried to make such a state. Because he promised Europe a civil B-H, but the Islamic allies a Muslim state, he had to make moves which were varied and different, in the end remaining in the position of Buridan's donkey on the log. Being that kind of politician logically made him, regardless of what he wanted, a perfect collaborator on the "Serbian project" (and on the Croatian project, of course).

The Muslims have been suffering, but in this "Serbian-Croatian plot" the Bosnian Serbs, Croats...have also been victims. The appearance of victory will soon vanish before everyday reality. The future of B-H is absurd. Unless peace comes soon, it will not occur until they eradicate one another. Again, the long-range tragedy does not even begin until peace comes. Is the bloody splitting of B-H to be stopped by a final division or by a false union? It is a false dilemma as far as a better life is concerned. That can come only when Bosnians and Hercegovinians live on the space of B-H. That is why they are doing their best to kill them and drive them out....

Sarinic Calls for UN Peace-Enforcing Role

PM1112084492 Barcelona LA VANGUARDIA in Spanish 4 Dec 92 p 8

[Interview with Croatian Prime Minister Hrvoje Sarinic by Ricardo Estarriol in Zagreb; date not given]

[Text] Zagreb—This conversation with Hrvoje Sarinic, prime minister of the internationally recognized Republic of Croatia—one of the six which comprised the former Yugoslavia—suggests that the Croats are determined to recover jurisdiction over the one-third of their territory occupied by Serbs, even by force if the UN forces present in the area do not impose peace.

[Estarriol] How do you feel as the head of a government which cannot exercise jurisdiction over one-third of the state's territory?

[Sarinic] At the end of last year, we had two alternatives—to continue the war or to accept the Vance plan. If we had opted for war, most of the country would have been left like Vukovar. Now we are analyzing the results of this solution. They are certainly not very encouraging, because the blue helmets (peacekeeping forces—UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces]) have been given a peacekeeping mandate in territories where there is no peace, and because the Serbs are not fulfilling their obligations. UNPROFOR observes this, but cannot prevent it. The international community does not know how to resolve the situation. Although the Islamic countries are demanding the use of force in another former Yugoslav republic—Bosnia-Hercegovina—the Western nations prefer to await the results of the embargo and of the elections in Serbia, but I can tell you now that an even more aggressive Milosevic will emerge from the elections.

[Estarriol] So what alternative does Croatia have left?

[Sarinic] We want UNPROFOR's mandate to be amended, charging these troops units with enforcing peace.

[Estarriol] And if this does not happen?

[Sarinic] Then Croatia would have to take its fate into its own hands.

[Estarriol] That is, Croatia would not renew the UN forces' mandate...

[Sarinic] No, because we would be in danger of becoming a second Cyprus, but, as I was telling you, before taking the decision (next March), we must take complete stock: The United Nations must guarantee that all the stages will be carried out.

[Estarriol] But if it is a matter of a Security Council decision, Croatia would have little chance of opposing the extension of UNPROFOR's mandate.

[Sarinic] No. UNPROFOR has been deployed here under an agreement between the Croatian Government and UN plenipotentiary Vance. What Mr. Vance [cochairman of the Conference on Yugoslavia] has subsequently said and done in the Security Council is another matter.

[Estarriol] In that event, Croatia would have to prepare again for war, and those who claim to know this in the West assert that the current readiness is insufficient, especially as far as weapons are concerned.

[Sarinic] Fine, but in expressing this opinion, a hypothesis about the future is being extrapolated in a known situation, without bearing in mind that the conditions will be different. When I say that Croatia will take its fate into its own hands, I am referring to the fact that no country in the world would be prepared to tolerate an army of occupation on its own territory. The borders are clear and internationally recognized, therefore we have a right to liberate our own territories.

And the conditions would be different, because a conflict could erupt at any time in Kosovo, Macedonia, and Sandzak. In no event will we play with fire. I am convinced that if Croatia takes the decision to liberate the occupied territories, the international community will change its attitude.

[Estarriol] There is something that is causing uneasiness in the West. I am referring to the repeated bilateral contacts between Croatian and Serbian representatives behind the Bosnian Muslims' backs. This is proving right those who believe that the only solution to the conflict would be a partition of Bosnia.

[Sarinic] We are not negotiating with the Serbs now, and if you are referring to the meeting between the respective chiefs of staff—Generals Bobetko [Croatian chief of staff] and Mladic [Bosnian Serb chief of staff]—in Sarajevo last week, the only thing that we were seeking was to prevent Croatian cities from continuing to be shelled from Bosnia.

Hadzic Letter to Butrus-Ghali Viewed

LD1012042492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1727 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Dec (TANJUG)—Goran Hadzic, president of the Republic of Serb Krajina, today called on UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali to put an end to Croatia's aggression against Krajina, the ISKRA news agency has reported.

In a letter to Butrus-Ghali, Hadzic says that "the person killed by Croatian forces yesterday was the 270th Krajina citizen killed since UN Protection Forces took over the responsibility for their protection."

"Our people are running out of patience. Their hope that they will be protected by the world organization that you head is gradually evaporating," Hadzic says in his letter. Hadzic wants Butrus-Ghali to place Croatian crimes on the agenda of the Security Council, stressing that the

Republic of Serb Krajina "has been regularly submitting documentation about these crimes."

"If the 270 victims do not deserve to be discussed by the Security Council and their killers convicted, I cannot see, Mr. Butrus-Ghali, how you think you can maintain peace between the two peoples," Hadzic says.

Belgian UN Forces Plan To Remain

93BR0240A Brussels LA LIBRE BELGIQUE in French 2 Dec 92 pp 1, 5

[Article by Philippe De Boeck, special envoy to Croatia: "Belgian Army Will Definitely Stay in Savudrija—Minister Leo Delcroix Favors Its Remaining After 5 December; 800 New Refugees Arrived Monday"]

[Text] The sun was shining over Istria on Monday [30 November]. In the refugee welcome center in Savudrija (northeast Croatia), the 140 Belgian military personnel serving under the white flag of the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) have just finished building 326 small houses as part of operation "Winter Lodge."

Maintenance

With the major work finished, the staff of the 4th and 11th Corps of Engineers are now putting on the final touches. According to the schedule drawn up by the Belgian Government, plans call for troops to withdraw Saturday, 5 December.

It seems, however, that at the Croatian authorities' request some 20 servicemen will remain in Savudrija to help run the center. "When we ask something, the refugees don't listen to us. When a Belgian soldier asks the same thing, the message gets through immediately," explains Milan Sop, the local social center director.

Defense Minister Leo Delcroix said on Tuesday that he approved of the idea; the government is due to make a decision today. "This is a transition period before an NGO [non-governmental organization] takes over the operation," said the Ministry of Defense on Tuesday evening.

Muslims

On Monday, the number of refugees in Savudrija rose from 1,200 to around 2,000 people. The (theoretical) capacity of the center is around 2,500, counting six to eight people per house. Most of the refugees at the center are Bosnians or Muslims fleeing from the combat zone in Bosnia-Hercegovina. They are mainly women, children, and elderly.

The first refugees arrived on this former campground in June. The land belongs to a public company owned by the City of Zagreb, the capital of Croatia.

Partnership

Given the go-ahead in late August by the Belgian Government, the operation has moved forward extremely quickly. "Winter Lodge" is a combined effort involving the following parties: the Belgian Army, the AGCD [General Administration for Cooperation and Development], the UNHCR, the Serbian authorities, and the [Belgian] Eternit Group. The 60 million Belgian francs [BFr] budget earmarked for Savudrija is part of a budget totaling BFr100 million set aside for the former Yugoslavia. The government wanted to build winter accommodations, hence the name "Winter Lodge." The order was then forwarded to the Belgian engineer Detachment commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Pierre Therie. His staff drew up specifications, with the call for tenders placed under the AGCD's legal responsibility.

"After studying the possibilities, the company finally selected was Eternit, located in Kappelle-op-den-Bos. An order was placed for 300 prefabricated houses. Eternit successfully provided the materials within the required deadline," said Therie.

Donation

In addition to the 300 houses, the Eternit group's parent company is making a donation as part of its partnership with the UNHCR. "About a year ago, the group decided to make an annual $100,000 donation to the UNHCR in the form of materials. Various destinations, such as Kenya or Bangladesh, were possible. Finally, the UNHCR decided to add this amount; i.e., 45 extra houses, to the Belgian Government's donation. Both orders are, therefore, not directly linked. We were pleased with the choice of the former Yugoslavia, because we could be sure that the donation was being put to good use," explains Eternit's Mr. van der Straeten.

Eternit is a Belgian holding company with around BFr50 billion in annual sales. The group is active in 32 countries and employs 16,500 people. The Kappelle plant has 1,600 employees.

In any case, both houses have different prices. "Given the goal of the operation, our management decided to make a major effort to lower prices. We can say that the value of the houses is close to their book value," said Eternit's Hans Herpoel.

In the end, 326 houses were constructed instead of the 345 planned, because some parts were damaged during transportation.

West Said To Be Using Somalia as 'Alibi'

AU1012185392 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 5 Dec 92 p 2

[Commentary by Pjer Simunovic: "Sand and Interests"]

[Text]—The key question concerning the motive for the international military intervention in Somalia is why it is being done at this point in time. The intervention is,

without doubt, necessary, but it is happening at a time when hundreds of thousands have already died there, in an unfortunate combination of wartime anarchy and starvation!

The answer to this question is manifold, and all of the variations concern plain, cold interest. One of the reasons is that it suits Bush (and the Republicans, as some kind of credit for the future) to end his mandate on a high note with the United States heading a venture that has a noble goal as its objective and yet is also effective, in a region where the West's geopolitical projections are negligible. In such a way that it does not disturb American interests as defined in Washington. Moreover, it is a good opportunity to once more demonstrate the threatened American leadership.

This was not done before the U.S. elections because the voters' attention was turned inward. That is why the Republican administration clearly estimated that it was not wise to launch a larger outside operation whose impact on the domestic scene, despite the noble cause, would constitute an important argument against Bush. It would just add to the accusations that by being intensely engaged in foreign policy (and one of dubious success), Bush was trying to cover up his relative failures (economic, social) on the home front.

There is another reason. The West's leading countries (Great Britain, France, the United States of America), who have a tradition of foreign military engagement, have been warning for some time now that their armed forces are "stretched" to a dangerous point and that they fear they might encounter difficulties if faced with a sudden challenge. While the pan-Serbian aggression is rapidly escalating, more crucially than ever before, the chorus of voices asking the West to punish and dismiss it by military force, is rising in volume. By intervening in Somalia, the West can add more weight to its "stretched forces" argument and in this way find a new alibi for its long and interest-based reluctance to embark on a large-scale intervention in the Balkans.

It is assuaging its conscience by doing something, somewhere that is worth praising, while it can reject other, less desirable and "tougher" engagements, with the (shallow) statement that "it cannot be everywhere at the same time." However, the situation is not such that matters should be viewed as "either one (Bosnia-Hercegovina) or the other (Somalia)", but rather as "both one and the other."

That is why it should be distinguished between two different engagements, that require different forces, adequate for the cases concerned. One, having a humanitarian goal, that is, the salvation of people from starvation, but with a military-political effect, meaning the overcoming of anarchy through the limited use of protective land forces (Somalia). The other, with a military-political goal, meaning the stopping of the pan-Serbian aggression, that would, of course, also have the necessary humanitarian effect, because it would save the surrounded, dying cities in Bosnia-Hercegovina. In the first phase, large-scale naval and air forces would be used.

Calculating through the prism of the huge conventional military power of the West (in the first place that of the United States of America), both cases can be adequately solved. You only have the interest and resolve to set the right goals and define the right means!

Furthermore, the present pointing out of the differences between the two cases serves to further suggest the impossibility of a large-scale intervention in Bosnia-Hercegovina, which is motivated by interest, of course. So we are reminded that in Somalia, this dry, dusty plain, the terrain is suitable, whereas the cliffs, forests, and ravines of Bosnia-Hercegovina are unsuitable; that in Somalia there is no great (geo)political motive for the conflict, unlike in the case of the former Yugoslavia; next, there is no great strategic intention like the pan-Serbian "ethnic cleansing"; and last but not least, that the probable adversaries in Somalia are just a palette of various unorganized factions and gangs, incapable of, and not equipped for larger military operations, as opposed to the powerful Serbian forces.

In the end, the analyses of the nature of the big, wide world's military reactions to what has been going on around the globe lately, gives a constant: a military intervention is undertaken if, when, and how it best suits the one with the most power, and it is undertaken on sandy terrain. This is no praiseworthy, just, "new world order", but rather an action motivated by pure interest, that has been brought to the absurd by the proverbial pulling of wool over one's eyes. The West intervenes "in the sand" stressing all the while how the sandy terrain makes it easier to deploy the necessary forces and neutralize the enemy, even when he is relatively strong (like Saddam) or weak (like the Somali bandits). According to the "sandy" argument, to restore international law and order through the use of military force, the configuration of the terrain is the crucial point.

Federal

Churkin Meets Panic, Rules Out Intervention

LD1112110192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0911 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Dec (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic received in the Palace of the Federation today Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin, who is paying a one-day working visit to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. No statement has been issued in connection with their tete-a-tete talks. However, following the meeting with Panic, the Russian diplomat told journalists that a foreign military intervention in Yugoslavia was out of question. This is an issue that is too serious even to be taken into consideration, Vitaliy Churkin said. He then added that the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina was critical and that the international community should contribute to the resolution of problems regarding Sarajevo. There are various ways to do that, Churkin said, but did not elaborate on it.

The Yugoslav prime minister told journalists following their meeting that Russia supported the government of Yugoslavia as the government of peace. He said that the UN Security Council will again initiate the question of allowing Yugoslavia to import heating oil for schools, hospitals, and similar institutions. Milan Panic highly assessed relations between the two countries and said that the Serbs could not have better friends than the Russians.

Djukic, Churkin Discuss Ways To Resolve Crisis

LD1112121792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1117 GMT 11 Dec 92

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 11 Dec (TANJUG)—In the Palace of the Federation today Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs Ilija Djukic received Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin, who is on a short working visit to the FRY. The talks between Djukic and Churkin were devoted mainly to the possibilities for resolving the Yugoslav crisis and the actions of the international community which are under way. Particular attention was devoted to the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The Yugoslav foreign minister told his collocutor that the FRY has done all it can to see that the negotiations on a political solution of the Bosnia-Hercegovina conflict continue. He noted that there is readiness on the part of the Serbs and Croats in that former Yugoslav republic but that it is necessary for the Muslims to accept negotiations.

Djukic and Churkin agreed that the action being taken in the world in support of lifting the arms embargo on Bosnia-Hercegovina, and particularly the increasingly strong pressure for military intervention, most evident in the Islamic world, are not contributing to a peaceful resolution of the crisis.

In Churkin's view it is very important to end hostilities in Bosnia-Hercegovina so as to facilitate the efforts of the international community in the search for a peaceful solution of the conflict. In this context he stressed that the continuation of the bombardment of Sarajevo is arousing the anger of the world.

A part of the talks was also devoted to Kosovo. It was stressed that it is the view of the international community that the problems of Kosovo can only be resolved within the FRY and Serbia with a guarantee of autonomy and minority rights. It was said that it would be helpful if the Kosovo Albanians end their self-imposed isolation and contribute to realizing their rights by participating in the forthcoming elections. [passage omitted]

Foreign Minister Says Peace Offensive Needed

LD1112032292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1159 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Dec (TANJUG)—Federal Foreign Affairs Minister Ilija Djukic said the issue of Yugoslavia's international status and the lifting of the sanctions are directly conditional upon the ending of the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina. "There is something that can be described as the EC's unavoidable condition. Europe has had enough of war, even those whose behavior contributed to it," Djukic said when taking part in a debate evening organized by TANJUG. Minister Djukic said that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia should continue its policy of dialogue and negotiations with international factors despite existing pressures that threaten to result in further tightening of the sanctions and the introduction of new ones.

A fresh "black offensive" is under way against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Threats to cut diplomatic relations are nothing new and we were faced with them before. We are now threatened with foreign intervention. "There will, however, be no classic military intervention," he said. In Djukic's view, a classic military intervention is out of the question since "no one is prepared to send large forces and air forces or to re-enact the Gulf War in the Balkans. There is, however, another way, i.e. by creating special safety zones and corridors for civilian population which is, in practice, tantamount to military presence," Djukic says.

Djukic listed three crucial elements necessary for resolving the FRY's international status: a state the existence of which is not questioned despite pressures, borders disputed by no one, and the practically institutionalized Serb issue in Bosnia-Hercegovina. It is a fact that the Serbs in the Krajinas have internationalized their status and this cannot be ignored, he said.

"The Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina should now launch a strong peace initiative, which would considerably contribute to the defusing of the war," Djukic believes. He added that Serbs in Croatia should also be united in their

support of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], i.e. Vance's plan, at the same time urging the state of Croatia to negotiate."

We are in a situation in which we should decide whether we wish to continue with the hardline policy or we wish a peaceful solution, for which we have a basis. Serb leaders in Bosnia-Hercegovina have on several occasions expressed their readiness to negotiate, although they cannot do anything on their own. The readiness of the other side is also necessary. "These negotiations should yield a trilaterally acceptable solution, similar to that offered in Lisbon," he said.

"I do not believe in the military option, in the military solution," Djukic said, adding that a climate should be created in which "a democratic compromise" will be possible. The framework for the negotiations should be the Geneva peace process, Djukic said. According to Minister Djukic, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia "is not in a situation to impose solutions," but "is in a position to urge a democratic compromise, relying on Europe's democratic traditions."

"By opening up such processes we could turn the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Serbia and Montenegro, into the point of gravitation for the Balkan and European trends. Such is our strategic position," he added.

Djukic said that he believed that the status of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will be resolved at this session of the UN General Assembly which goes on until next September. According to him, an official application for UN membership should not be submitted now because it would not get the necessary support.

"We must carefully assess the time and the moment when we can do that," Djukic said, adding that this question could be included in the package of the global resolution of the Yugoslav crisis, through Geneva negotiations. Until then citizens of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will have old passports because that issue is also linked with the question of the status of our country, Djukic said.

The federal foreign minister recalled that the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia invested enormous efforts in the regulation of the international position of the country, the result of which, although insufficient, is that "we opened up curtains around Yugoslavia."

"We were given more breathing space, more room for maneuver, more negotiating partners, while changes in the attitude of information media have taken place. Just remember the situation as it used to be," he said.

Djukic said that instead of "the parliament and the government arguing on what has already been done," it would be better if the Yugoslav parliamentarians travelled a little more frequently. "In conditions of narrowed diplomatic communications the parliamentarians are always, particularly under present circumstances, acceptable figures. We should be ready to visit, not to turn toward the policy of self-isolation," Djukic believes.

The diplomacy, according to Djukic, has the task to implement what is the policy of the country, on which a national consensus is necessary. "I think that the consensus has not been formed sufficiently," Djukic said. "We still haggle over vital issues in a petty way, and so everything is at all times subjected to discussion."

"The Foreign Ministry of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is at this moment facing a big reorganization in which between 300 and 350 employees will be made redundant. We are finishing what is called the constitutional and legal setting up of the ministry, which was initiated much earlier," he said. "The foreign policy should be suited to our position, size and needs of the country. They are no longer strategic, but tactic," Djukic said.

The federal minister said that the "painful" reduction in the number of personnel in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is inevitable, although it does not mean that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will suddenly withdraw from a great number of foreign missions. "There is a minimum below which we cannot go," he said.

Army General Staff Reduces Length of Service

LD1012204992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1957 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Dec (TANJUG)—The General Staff of the Yugoslav Army has decided that all conscripts sent to do their military service in November 1991 will be demobilized in the period 15-18 December this year, the General Staff information service announced today.

Thus these conscripts will not have to stay for the three additional months originally introduced by the SFRY Presidency. The decision of the General Staff thus makes it possible for the conscripts to vote in their places of residence.

Defense Ministry Clarifies Statement on Panic

AU1012153392 Belgrade NEDELJNA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5-6 Dec 92 p 4

[Report by B. Solesa: "The Collegiate Body of the Minister Wants To Cooperate With the Minister"]

[Text] Belgrade—The people who are members of the Collegiate Body of the Minister of Defense, and who are demanding the freezing of the post of the minister, who is also the prime minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Milan Panic, at a time when he is intensely involved in political issues, are not "Rambos" or "putschists," but rather expert officers who insist on objectivity, professionalism, and their position above party politics, which they have no desire to change. The politics of society and the politics of defense need to be distinguished after all, said Colonel Radoljub Matovic,

explaining the reasons for the statement by the Collegiate Body of the Minister of Defense. Colonel Matovic is responsible for public relations in the Federal Ministry of Defense.

The members of the Collegiate Body of Minister Panic are mostly generals and admirals. They include Major General Radovan Radinovic ("BORBA" recently carried an interview with him), Lieutenant General Milorad Dragojevic, Major General Dusan Zukic, Rear Admiral Milosav Simic, Lieutenant General Dobrasin Prascevic, Major General Dane Ajdukovic, and also the heads of units and sectors in the Federal Ministry of Defense. These officers are also, in their functions as heads of units and sectors, the chief advisers to the Defense Minister.

Colonel Matovic added that nobody should speculate about the role of the Yugoslav Army, General Staff, and Ministry of Defense, because these are not things to be taken lightly. We are part of the government, and they are the General Staff with their command responsibilities, constitutionally directly answerable to their commander in chief, the president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Dobrica Cosic. The Ministry of Defense is one of 17 departmental ministries, and our main task is to create the financial, technical, and legal basis so that the Yugoslav Army can function in the desired way. Our Ministry deals with regulations, status policy, housing, salaries, bonuses [dodaci], defense policy, military economic activity.... All these are important issues that must not be delayed. I believe that the Collegiate Body reacted the way it did in the statement partly because of the dissatisfaction that comes from these questions not being dealt with more expediently.

Moreover, those familiar with the proposals for The Army and Defense Law know that it is not envisaged that the Ministry of Defense will be more important than the Supreme Council of Defense, which comprises the presidents of the republics of Serbia and Montenegro and the president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, who is also the commander in chief. Only Greece seems to have a system in which the Ministry of Defense has more power than the General Staff. The United States of America has the Joint Chiefs of Staff, comprising of the general staffs of the Air Force, Navy, land forces, and marine corps.

The statement by the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army explaining more precisely the roles of these two bodies that "deal" with the army and the defense of society was awaited with great interest. Nobody seems to want to answer the question of what would happen when, for example, the decisions of these two bodies are diametrically opposed. This is understandable when you consider the fact that the situation regarding the transformation and professionalization of the Yugoslav Army and the general policy of the defense of society, and of regulations and their implementation is far from over.

None of the members of the Collegiate Body of the Minister of Defense, and they are all serious people, experts on the military profession and science, wants to make an exclusive political issue in society out of their announced attitude. They are carrying on quite normally with their work and cooperation with the defense minister, Milan Panic, who is also present and is also carrying on with his work. You know, times are such that everybody wants to make his attitude known. In this case, we are dealing with the principled attitude of people who do not wish to be abused. This is Colonel Matovic's position.

Russian Daily Cited Criticizing Sanctions

93BA0292E Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Nov 92 p 3

[Article by B. Gvozdenovic: "Russian Scene and Yugoslav Crisis: PRAVDA Criticizes Sanctions"]

[Text] *"U.S. and European civilizers are using cannibalistic tactics," this Moscow opposition newspaper writes.*

Moscow, 21 Nov—The Moscow opposition newspaper PRAVDA is critical of the behavior of the world community toward the FR [Federal Republic of] Yugoslavia, against which UN Security Council sanctions were recently stiffened.

In fact, the newspaper is critical of those who even now, when thousands upon thousands of people in the former SFRY are suffering in a senseless and horrible interethnic war, do not demonstrate the will to humanely avert the possible catastrophic consequences that are on the horizon.

An example that is cited is the stiffening of the embargo, even though according to U.S. data more than 70 percent of all Yugoslav enterprises are shut down or operating at a significantly reduced production level, air transport has been halted, and seaports are barely functioning.

PRAVDA calls this step "cannibalistic tactics by European and U.S. civilizers."

PRAVDA criticizes the Russian leadership, which voted against Yugoslavia in the United Nations, remarking that "Russia has never lacked compassion for those who have gotten into trouble."

"But in Moscow, representatives of our foreign-policy department claimed at a press conference that this is not a stiffening of the sanctions, but simply a strengthening of controls over the embargo," Fadzheyev wrote. "But at that time NATO was given 48 hours to come up with a plan for implementing the new Security Council resolution."

"U.S planes and ships are to move" toward the Adriatic Sea, and "in general the United States is seeking to play the decisive role in implementing the naval blockade against the Serbs and Montenegrins."

"The experiment with the new Yugoslavia is being extended, but this is also an experiment with Russia," PRAVDA concludes.

Radio Moscow dealt with the same subject in a lengthy commentary in which there was discussion of what can be expected at the session of the Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation that is to begin at the first of December. Radio Moscow reports that opposition deputy Baburin has sharply criticized Russian foreign policy, asserting that "it is very much under the influence of the West, especially the United States of America." Other deputies also believe that Russia has committed many mistakes with regard to Yugoslavia, and are thus demanding that its diplomatic corps now do everything it can to see to it that the embargo is lifted, because "the people there cannot live now without help." In addition, humanitarian aid is necessary not only for the people living in tormented Bosnia-Hercegovina, but also for those in Serbia and Montenegro.

The Russian diplomatic corps must do everything it can, the Radio Moscow commentary said, "to see to it that the countries of Europe recognize the new Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as soon as possible." And then that the FR Yugoslavia be accepted into the United Nations, and that it retain the positions that it had in various forums of that world organization.

Serbia

Draskovic Envisages Greater Serbia

AU1012183092 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Dec 92 p 6

[Report by D. Mosurovic: "Draskovic: Serbia From Gevgelija to Knin"]

[Text] In front of the FAP factory in Priboj, an electoral meeting was held today by the Serbian Democratic Movement. The presidential candidate Vuk Draskovic, as well as candidates for federal and republic deputies, made speeches. In front of several thousand people, Vuk Draskovic pointed out that several years ago "it was the Muslim extremists who used to gouge out his eyes on posters, but now it is the Serbian extremists who do that". Apart from the already familiar electoral slogans promising wages of thousands of German marks, Vuk Draskovic stressed that Serbia is not facing the usual multiparty elections, but elections that will decide its existence. And if the Serbian Democratic Movement wins, according to Vuk Draskovic, Serbia will not only exist in its present form, but will extend from Gevgelija to Knin. The world will be interested in such a Serbia, which will be above all democratic, and so the sanctions will soon be lifted.

Draskovic also stressed that the greatest disorder for the present authorities is this senseless war that is being waged on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. The Serbian Democratic Movement offers as an alternative peace and reconciliation of all the warring factions. This movement sees Bosnia-Hercegovina of the present only as a confederation of three constituent peoples, and as regards cl[illegible] between republican and federal authorities, Vuk [illegible]vic said:

"A coupl[illegible] ago we were yelling at Ante Markovic [former fe[illegible]al prime minister] and Slovenia. Now, Montenegro is the 'culprit of the day,' and Milan Panic [FRY prime minister] has replaced Ante Markovic."

SPS Pledges To Remove Sanction Causes

LD1012174592 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2147 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, December 9 (TANJUG)—Serbian Foreign Minister Vladimir Jovanovic said on Wednesday [9 December] the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) guaranteed to voters it would remove the causes which brought in the U.N. sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) and lay the grounds for substantive relations with the world community.

The truth about us was finding its way in the world, he said at an SPS promotional meeting. Jovanovic heads the SPS list in the federal elections. He also promised a stabilization period after the elections.

Emphasizing that we were witnessing an unprecedented offensive of intimidation of the people, who were threatened with an apocalypse in case the present authorities remained, Jovanovic said: "Our position regarding Yugoslavia and the fundamental interests of our people and state is clear and resolute and that is how it will remain. Those who are afraid, would have to search for more quieter havens."

The SPS Belgrade leadership President Nebojsa Covic, who heads the SPS list in the republican elections, assessed that the FRY "by refusing to assume the part of bystander or a mere victim, has caused the wrath of the power brokers, who launched a monstrous machinery to direct the world's hate toward one people. In this, they are wholeheartedly assisted by certain protagonists of the multiparty political life in Serbia."

Bozovic Discusses Sanctions, Panic, Kosovo

AU1012171692 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] Serbian Prime Minister Radoman Bozovic told a news conference that the Serbian Government has undertaken a series of practical measures the result of which has been that the international blockade has failed to destroy the vital functions of our economy and that certain property changes and developments are possible. Marina Raznjatovic has the details:

[Begin recording] [Raznjatovic] Although we are under a very strong international economic blockade, the state is functioning normally, very few businesses have closed

down, and around 120,000 workers are receiving monthly salaries from the republican fund. The prime minister said the following about the current situation:

[Bozovic] I am firmly convinced that even under very rigid restrictions we have managed to secure an economic and social balance. Despite very drastic economic restrictions, Serbia today is managing to maintain first-rate functioning of all the vital functions.

[Raznjatovic] However, Bozovic said that all the measures undertaken would produce better results if, on top of the sanctions, the Federal Government—that is, Prime Minister Panic—were doing a better job. This is how Prime Minister Bozovic explains:

[Bozovic] The policies of the Federal Government that has been doing nothing for five months—rather, whatever it has been doing—have been against the interests of the economy it is supposed to represent. I would like to remind you that it is irrational for a government that has large authority in all the macropolicies not to have come up with a single serious measure, but has reduced all its activities to creating an institutionalized space for international sanctions to leave the worst possible consequences on our economy, thus bringing about an aim that is no longer concealed by the Federal prime minister. He is now inviting foreign governments to help him by slapping additional sanctions onto the Serbian economy, as he believes that this would help him sort out political problems.

[Raznjatovic] Asked what he thought about Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic's role, Bozovic said:

[Bozovic] As for President Cosic's role, I want to believe that he will explain his own role to the Yugoslav and Serbian public and the Yugoslav Assembly. I want to believe that his sole purpose is not to make a television spot for Milan Panic, but rather that his moral integrity is far stronger than Panic is trying to present it.

[Raznjatovic] Kosovo was not to be avoided. Bozovic was asked whether the Federal Government could allow the presence of foreign observers and blue helmets in Kosovo and Metohija. Prime Minister Bozovic said that the Federal Government had absolutely no authority to decide on the presence of foreign troops on the territory of Kosovo and Metohija. [end recording]

Army Seen Involving Itself in Politics

AU1012141392 Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 5 Dec 92 p 9

[Report by Ivkica Bacic: "General Dragojevic Is Threatening Milan Panic"]

[Text] Belgrade—The decision of the State Electoral Committee to refuse the candidacy of Prime Minister Milan Panic for the office of president of Serbia prompted heated reactions from the greater part of the Serbian opposition, who announced that they intended to boycott the elections unless Serbia's Constitutional Court revokes the decision. According to Milan Komnenic from the Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO], Panic's policy is totally different from Milosevic's political course, and that is the main reason for the refusal of the candidacy.

Komnenic sees the other reason in the regime's fear of Panic coming to the helm of Serbia, so they will stop at nothing, including the provoking of "open threats to Serbia, because the world will not take this decision without reaction."

Cedomir Mirkovic, leader of the Social Democrats, clearly states that after this, his party is not going to take part in the elections. In contrast, Zoran Djindjic, leader of the Democrats, says a decision to boycott the elections would mean that Panic is the "symbol of the opposition," which, according to him, "neither Panic nor the opposition want". To be sure, Djindjic also called the refusal of Panic's candidacy a link in a whole chain of violations of the principle of equality, and added that the electoral committee was "only a mouthpiece, while the decision was reached somewhere else." Where? According to an unofficial report in "BORBA," in Serbian President Milosevic's office. Namely, this paper states that Milosevic's advisers, Ratko Markovic and Vladan Kutlesic, spent all day convincing their boss that the obstruction of Panic's candidacy would result in "very delicate political consequences, maybe even a boycott on the part of the opposition." According to "BORBA," Milosevic was and has remained inexorable. The rumor in opposition circles is that Milosevic's relentlessness might be the reason for organizing massive demonstrations in all larger Serbian cities.

One more question: was a little military coup being prepared in Belgrade last Thursday? The question is not unfounded, if you take into account the fact that the first announcement of the collegiate body of the minister of defense (in which high-ranking officers dissociated themselves from Panic's declarations and asked him to freeze the post of minister of defense), which was delivered to TANJUG, bore the signature—"in place of the Army minister, Lieutenant General Milorad Dragojevic." In another version of the announcement, delivered to editorial offices, the signature was gone, and in its place was "Collegiate Body of the Minister of Defense." It is not known upon whose intervention this was done, but the fact remains that the post of deputy minister of defense does not exist, and furthermore, no one can relieve the minister while he is in Belgrade. Incidentally, Milorad Dragojevic exists, he is the assistant of the defense minister for military-economic activity, and he is taken to be the first man in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on matters of armament.

While this text is being sent out, no one from the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army has officially reacted to the fact that the announcement of the Collegiate Body of the minister of defense actually implies direct political involvement of the army, which, apparently, and in

contrast to the former Yugoslav People's Army, is "definitely and forever depoliticized." Nor has anyone had anything to say regarding the fact that General Dragojevic used a false title, and in this way misled the public as well as tried to usurp Panic's minister of defense post. The only thing we have been able to learn, unofficially, is that both versions of the announcement have nothing to do with the General Staff headed by Zivota Panic. As for the dilemma as to what exactly is the Collegiate Body of the Minister of Defense, and who is in it, we have been informed by circles close to the General Staff that the body is made up of heads of units and sectors, mostly high-ranking officers, generals and colonels, but that they are not the ones sitting on the General Staff.

As for Milan Panic, he is still spreading great optimism, not only regarding his candidacy, which he believes will be accepted owing to a court decision in a couple of days, but also as regarding his victory over Milosevic. He substantiates this with the results of a survey of public opinion, according to which "if the elections were to take place today," he would certainly win in seven or nine constituencies, although he admits that "Milosevic and his state- controlled television are playing a dirty game." Panic is also trying to convince the citizens that he has the "full support" of President Dobrica Cosic, that "Cosic is one of the people behind his candidacy," and that "once I beat Milosevic, the two of us want to abolish the office of president of the republic." Dobrica Cosic, however, is not commenting on any of the events that have been taking place lately.

Serb, Macedonian Opposition Discuss Relations

AU1012154792 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Dec 92 p 6

[Report by M. Krstic: "VMRO Unexpectedly Turns Toward Serbia"]

[Text] Skopje, 4 Dec—The two day visit of the Serbian opposition delegation (the People's Party, the Serbian branch of the Serbian Democratic Party, and the Royal Bloc) to Macedonia, which was headed by Milan Paroski, assembly delegate and presidential candidate, elicited great media interest not only in Macedonia. The delegation of the Serbian opposition arrived suddenly in Macedonia, being invited by the hitherto very extreme and anti-Serb VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity]. Today's joint and well attended news conference in Skopje, and the statement issued indicate a new, unexpected policy of these important elements in the Serbian and Macedonian opposition, regarding relations between Serbia and Macedonia. The surprisingly glib language of the leaders of both delegations—Milan Paroski and warlord Ljupco Georgijevski—as well as the congruence of their views concerning all the issues discussed, open a new chapter in the political interaction between Serbia and Macedonia, despite the fact that these two delegations represent only a part of the opposition. It should be pointed out that VMRO-DPMNE is the party with the largest number of delegates in the Macedonian parliament. However, it is noteworthy, according to Paroski and Georgijevski, that they discussed only issues which bring together the two orthodox and close peoples. In addition, they expressed identical views on economic, political, and security issues in both republics. They emphasized the absolute necessity to establish democratic systems in Serbia and Macedonia. They also pointed out the need to establish peace in former Yugoslavia by collective efforts, for mutual recognition of the Serb and Macedonian peoples' right to create their own state, and to guarantee all national and human rights to the minorities of these peoples in Serbia and Macedonia.... It is particularly significant that both delegations were explicit in resolutely rejecting all the claims of Macedonia's current authorities that "Serbia has territorial and other aspirations in Macedonia." The issue of the political and human rights of ethnic Albanians is of no less importance. It was stressed that the possibility of resolving the "ethnic Albanian problem" could be found in the positive examples of The Hague and Geneva conferences, as well as in other international agreements on ethnic minority rights. On the matter of the policy of the VMRO-DPMNE toward Serbia and the Serbian nation, Ljupco Georgijevski, leader of VMRO-DPMNE, said: "I do not think that the Serbs should have fewer rights than, say, Albanians in Macedonia." Within their two day visit to Macedonia, the delegation of the Serb opposition held, at their own request, talks with representatives of the non-party organization, the Association of Serbs and Montenegrins in Macedonia. The talks covered a lot of important questions, including the one regarding the spiritual unification of Serbs in these regions.

Macedonia

President Gligorov on Macedonian Problem

PM1012142892 London THE EUROPEAN in English 10-13 Dec 92 p 10

[Article by Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov: "The Name Is Our Nation's Identity"]

[Text] In the present turbulence of the Balkans, it is the Republic of Macedonia that has acted as a beacon of peace and stability. It is the only republic of ex-Yugoslavia which has not participated in the war. It is the only republic to gain it independence and sovereignty by peaceful and legitimate methods.

Our approach—which recognizes the inviolability of national frontiers in the Balkans and accords full respect to the rights of ethnic minorities—provides a real and civilized alternative to those policies adopted by other which are based on inflamed nationalist passions, territorial expansionism, "ethnic cleansing" and irredentism: the policies of division and hate.

It is for these reasons that the Arbitration Commission of the European Community, chaired by Dr Robert Badinter, concluded that the Republic of Macedonia fulfilled all the conditions for international recognition, and that the name Macedonia did not imply territorial claims.

The Republic of Macedonia received the gratitude and admiration of the world community, which has grown weary of the daily horrors of a war with no end or reason, but has not received international recognition as an independent sovereign state.

Anyone who has visited Skopje will know that the length of the petrol queues are measured in days and that industry is grinding to a standstill. Without oil, there is no heating, hot water, transport and no ability to harvest crops. Firms have closed and there have been widespread strikes. The economy is being crippled and there is the growing threat of civil unrest.

The reason for these hardships is not, as one might suspect, the war in Bosnia or the hostility of Serbia, but the actions of a member state of the EC—Greece.

Since August, Greece has blocked supplies of oil and other goods from entering the republic of Macedonia. Greece has used its privileged position as the only Balkan country which is a member of the EC to block recognition by asserting that we have territorial claims against its northern province with the same name.

Yet there was no evidence to support this assertion. Putting aside the facts that our country has a population one-fifth that of Greece, and that Greece is a member of NATO while we have no army, we responded constructively to this concern.

We altered the Republic of Macedonia's constitution—a unique event in itself—to explicitly reject territorial claims towards any of our neighbor and any interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

In addition to these strong constitutional guarantees adopted by the parliament, we proposed a bilateral treaty with the Republic of Greece, with European guarantees on the integrity of common frontiers and for friendship and co-operation. All of this was according to world practice and custom.

The demand that Macedonia change its name is outside the scope of any principle of international law and practice. I ask you to reflect on the profound implications of agreeing to this demand.

Over two million people are to be told by the EC that, as from tomorrow, they are no longer Macedonians. To deny a people's identity in this way is humiliating.

It is insulting to their national dignity and a denial of the rights of justice for all small nations. In the Balkans, where the names of people and whole ethnic groups have been changed as part of "ethnic cleansing" through the ages, the demand invokes deep fears.

Changing a people's name is but a short step from denying their very existence and rights. In a referendum, over 90 per cent voted yes for independence. It is the people of the Republic of Macedonia who have decided that they want a sovereign and independent state known as the Republic of Macedonia.

This fact is often ignored in international discussions between governments. The political reality is that any government which bowed to international pressure to remove Macedonia from the country's name would not survive, and any such decision would throw the whole country into turmoil and civil unrest.

An unrecognised Macedonia, such as the current Macedonia without a name, means a return to a past of horrific Balkan warfare which will involve not only ex-Yugoslavia but, directly, member states of the EC too. The international community and Greece must recognise that a peaceful and independent Macedonia is essential to, and a precondition for, the security of the Balkans and Europe.

Those who know the history of the Balkans will see the threat that the growing instability of the Republic of Macedonia poses to peace. If Macedonia collapses, we, our immediate neighbours and the world will be drawn ino a full-scale war.

The European Community has an opportunity to act now before a new disaster occurs, rather than be the unwitting agent that makes it a self-fulfilling prophesy.

We have already demonstrated by word and deed our total commitment to peace and civilised behaviour.

VMRO Opposes Change of Republic's Name

AU1012155792 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Report by Boris Djordjioski from Skopje]

[Text] The tumultuous debate is continuing today in the Macedonian Assembly concerning the proposal by Kiro Gligorov to present to the European Twelve for tomorrow's summit in Edinburgh a change in the name of the republic, that is, add to the Republic of Macedonia the word Skopje in brackets.

Views have polarized. One side believes that this proposal changes nothing vital in the name of Macedonia, that it is a gesture of good will on the Macedonian side geared toward having the EC recognize this republic.

The other side, however, led by the largest party, VMRO [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization], protests against and opposes most strongly the name of Skopje being imposed on Macedonia as proposed by President Gligorov. They believe that this is a betrayal of the Macedonian national interest, and is undignified and humiliating. The change of name under pressure is, they say, shameful for the Macedonian people. The proposal has been categorically rejected, whilst at the same time,

Gligorov is accused in very strong terms of despotism, of imposing a strictly controlled communist regime, dragging the parliament into dishonorable games, and seeking an alibi for his unsuccessful foreign policy by changing the name of the republic. Until two days ago, they say, Gligorov was the loudest supporter of the view that Macedonia would never change its name, and now he is proposing just that. The VMRO deputies, and some others, believe that Macedonia will not renounce its name, regardless of tomorrow's decision in Edinburgh, and if Macedonia is not recognized, then Gligorov and the rest of the Macedonian leadership should leave the political stage.

Gligorov did not respond to the accusations that were very often made below the level of a drunken barroom row, while Denko Maleski, minister for foreign relations, was visibly irritated and said that some people in the Macedonian Assembly were fooling around with the destiny of this republic and its people.

Assembly Approves Name Change 'In Principle'

LD1112023592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2219 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] Skopje, 10 Dec (TANJUG)—The Macedonian Assembly this evening agreed in principle to change the name of the new Macedonian state to the Republic of Macedonia (Skopje). The initiative for this change was supported by all deputies except those of the VMRO-DPMNE [Macedonia's major nationalist party], other nationalist parties and a number of independent deputies.

General Says No Albanian Troops on Border

LD1112045992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2000 GMT 10 Dec 92

[Text] Skopje, Dec 10 (TANJUG)—Macedonian Army chief of staff Gen. Mitre Arsovski denied on Thursday [10 December] allegations by the LONDON TIMES correspondent from Tirana that Albania was concentrating its troops on the border with the former Yugoslav republic. According to the journalist's report, troops, tanks and armoured vehicles from bases in central Albania are being deployed near the border with Macedonia.

Gen. Arsovski said the Macedonian Army did not have any information about the concentration of fresh troops on the Albanian-Macedonian border. He also said that "not one single Albanian has been killed or wounded" on the border during the past week, and that the Macedonian side had not opened fire on anyone. According to Gen. Arsovski, preparations are being made by both Macedonia and Albania for the opening of new border crossings on December 13.

Out of two million inhabitants of Macedonia, one fourth are ethnic Albanians.

Greek Spokesman on Macedonian Problem

PM1012143292 London THE EUROPEAN in English 10-13 Dec 92 p 10

[Article by Greek Government spokesman Vasilis Mayinas: "Why Getting in a State Over Macedonia Is Dangerous"]

[Text] Life must be difficult these days in the "Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia" (FYRM). Dreams of a white Christmas can easily turn into nightmares when fuel is scarce—especially for those who are uncomfortably close to the killing fields of Bosnia.

Shortages create unrest and insecurity generates aggressive behaviour. The leders in Skopje prefer to ignore the present and find solace in a glorious past which is not theirs, and a grandiose future which will never be theirs.

They thus appropriate the royal emblem of the ancient Macedonian dynasty of Philip and Alexander and publish maps of "Larger Macedonia" with Thessaloniki ("Solun" in their idiom, Salonika in English) as its capital. They hide their Slavonic origins and insist that they be recognised as a brand new Macedonian nation-state, while some of them promote the slogan "Macedonians of the Balkans unite".

The notion that Macedonia is a nation in need of a state, with a mission to care about brethren in neighbouring countries who were allegedly kept for centuries in durance vile, is more than absurd—it is dangerous. It is how wars start in the Balkans. In an area where little people have often launched great violence such attitudes are not just quaint, they lead to bloodshed. With Macedonia on its masthead, a state by that name would soon be a source of friction and trouble; a security concern, if not a defence problem. Small and weak the "Macedonians" may presently be, but then so is the IRA in the UK and ETa [Basque Fatherland and Liberty] in Spain.

By the same token, a state by any other name would be less of a thorn in anybody's flesh because it would be less justified in seeking aggrandisement. Skopje must be the capital of a sovereign state whose borders should remain inviolate, that is, protected from forcible change. Skopje as a temporary capital of a state which is planning to move its capital to Thessaloniki is unacceptable.

Greece resents the notion of the FYRM as a springboard for the eventual integration of "Macedonia" as a whole. We sincerely hope that our EC partners will continue to support us in this view as they did in Lisbon a few months ago.

States are, on the whole, less transient than their leders. Once recognised on its own terms, this new state could be ruled by anybody who might interpret "Macedonia" in the most mystical, ethnic sense of the term. This would create problems not just for Greece, but for the numerous Albanians of the FYRM who are already at daggers drawn with the "Macedonians".

If the latter acquire their own state, the Albanians might feel trapped within a state in the hands of another ethnic group, which will not balk at using its monopoly of power to wipe out ethnic dissent. Have the horrors of Bosnia been forgotten already?

There is a simple solution to the problem: So simple, in fact, that it is often brushed aside as unrealistic. The Skopjean leadership must reverse out of the blind alley into which it has driven itself and abandon its insistence on using the term "Macedonia" in its denomination as a state. The population in the FYRM would feel relieved.

The Albanians could negotiate a new deal and secure their community a place under the sun; the real one—not the one of Philip of Macedon which they, as Albanians, repudiated right from the start as an emblem for the new state. The Slavs themselves are no warmongers.

Recent opinion polls have shown that only 16 percent of them consider the name as paramount. Balkan watchers, elaborating alarmist scenarios about an imminent war, to be sparked off from Kosovo—engulfing Greece, Albania, Serbia, Bulgaria and even Turkey, advocate immediate recognition of the FYRM on Gligorov's terms. They are wrong.

Peace is about to break out in the area. The "Macedonians" feel safe with Greece. They have deployed their Lilliputian armed forces along all their borders, save the Greek one.

If only they could take seriously our proposal that they should call themselves what they like within their borders, and satisfy our legitimate anxieties by agreeing to be recognised under a "nonprogrammatic" name. Friendship and cooperation would then bloom between our countries.

We would instantly welcome them as a good neighbour—we do not covet their territory and they know it. As members of the EC we can help them as no one else can and can even guarantee their security—they know this too.

Under a mutually acceptable name, the FYRM and Greece should get down to serious business at once. We should be discussing medicines, food, oil, shelter and possibly history, language and culture, not quarrelling about names, ethnic minorities and the closure of frontiers.

Neighbours need links, highways, railways, telephones, fuel pipelines, exchanges of students, academics, public debates in the media. As distrust fades, trade booms.

The omens look good. Our northern neighbours can be safe and prosperous with our help. They must, however, learn to be realistic early in their career as an independent country.

We firmly believe that the Lisbon decision is realistic and should be implemented. If, however, our EC partners decide todepart from it, we will regretfully have to deal with the issue without their help.

Greece is deeply committed to the concept of European solidarity, to the ideal of peace and to the policy of helping Skopje in any way it can, as recent shipments of oil through the Red Cross have shown.

Informed and long-term realism, however, dictates that seeds of trouble should not be sown inthis sensitive region. "Macedonian" bravado should not be encouraged. The FYRM should not be recognised if it contains the term "Macedonia" in its name.